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A *OF*
FIFTY YEARS *of* SERVICE





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LIFE AND LETTERS OF
SIR EDWARD MORTIMER ARCHIBALD
K.C.M.G., C.B.



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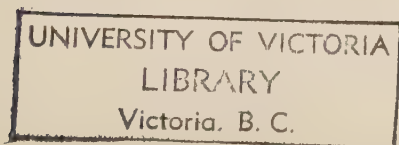
Life and Letters of
Sir Edward Mortimer Archibald
K. C. M. G., C. B.

A MEMOIR OF
FIFTY YEARS OF SERVICE

BY HIS DAUGHTER
EDITH J. ARCHIBALD

WITH A FOREWORD BY
THE RT. HON. SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN, G.C.M.G.

TORONTO
GEORGE N. MORANG
1924



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TO
MY HUSBAND
OUR CHILDREN
AND
GRANDCHILDREN

PREFACE

It has been asserted, with some truth, that the two psychological periods best suited for the production of a successful biography are either immediately after the death of its subject, or from a half century to a century later.

In the first instance, the personality of the man is thrown into high relief; his eccentricities, his faults and failings, as well as his outstanding good qualities, and his important acts.

If he has been what is termed a public character,—one upon whom the fierce light of public opinion has been focussed,—this concentration of interest upon him has a tendency to intensify to the verge of exaggeration the reader's concept of the subject of the memoir as already held by him. Does he regard him in somewhat of the light of a hero?—then, as he turns the pages, he eagerly looks for the justification of his belief in the man, and finds in every encomium or glowing word of admiration, a silent, but significant comment on his own perspicacity.

Conversely, if the biographer has been faithful and impartial, and has held up to the world the real man whose sins of omission and commission are both obvious and altogether human,—then, should the reader of this life story have held but a poor opinion of its subject, he is apt to lay the book down, after perusing it, with a certain feeling of satisfaction that, after all, his doubts were not wholly without foundation.

So much, then, as to the public who read the book; but, in so far as the author of the biography is concerned, the advantage to him is very markedly in favour of a period not too long after the subject of his memoir has passed off the stage of public affairs; at a moment when the friends or the opponents of the man—if he should chance to have had any—are still living, and able and willing to supply the many little details which add so much to the interest of a narrative, and serve to round out the story of every life.

The difficulties which beset a biographer after too long a lapse of time since the death of his subject must be obvious to everyone; and in attempting to present to the public some account of the life and times of Sir Edward Mortimer Archibald, K.C.M.G., C.B.—a man who in his time played an important rôle in what is now termed Empire-building, his services covering a period (from 1832 to 1883) of fifty-one years—the present writer is sadly handicapped by the lack of those invaluable touches of which the inexorable hand of Death has robbed her.

Still, there are, undoubtedly, certain advantages also, afforded by the passage of the years. Regarded through the long perspective of Time, the outlines of far-distant occurrences, which, at the moment loomed harsh and threatening, are wonderfully softened and modified and the last faint echoes of ancient disputes and controversies have died away. Especially does this hold good in relation to such questions as the once well-nigh insoluble international problems and perplexities of the period between 1860 and 1866, when the peace of the world was more than once endangered, and one false move, or unconsidered utterance on the part of statesmen or diplomatists might have plunged two great nations into a hideous and most disastrous war.

Thus, clearly outlined against the black and threatening background of mutual suspicion and international misunderstanding, are the figures of those good men and true, on both sides of the Atlantic, who, with untiring devotion to duty, and unerring patriotism and energy, sought by every means in their power to preserve friendly relations between England and America. The names of these great and representative statesmen are, and have long been household words, and every student of History will recall them without difficulty. But of the patient, faithful service of those associated with them or working under them, very little, if indeed anything, has been recorded.

Among the many official representatives of Great Britain in the United States of America, the British Consul-General at New York stands second only to the British Ambassador at Washington.

To fill this important post there was sent, in 1857, just prior to the War of the Rebellion, a man hitherto unknown in diplomatic circles although he had been, for many years, under the close and critical observation of the Colonial Office in London; and his long service of twenty-two years in the Ancient Colony of Newfoundland, during which time he had filled several important offices, including that of Attorney-General of the Colony, was very favourably regarded by his Government.

A native of Nova Scotia, and a member of the fourth generation in Canada of the family of Archibalds who were among the earliest settlers of that Province, and who had already bulked large in its public affairs, it was to fall to his lot, in consequence of this consular appointment—totally unsolicited, as it was, by him—to play an important part in the drama of international politics, and during the quarter of a century between 1857 and 1838

to make his influence continually felt in promoting and preserving the kindest relations between England and America.

It was, perhaps, the most eventful quarter century in the history of the United States, as it was also the most difficult in relation to the attitude of English statesmen towards the problems arising out of the Civil War; and the experiences of a consul at the great and important city of New York, could not fail to include many incidents of interest to the general public and, in particular, to students of international history.

I have reason to believe that it was my father's intention to have recorded some of the more outstanding events during the long period of his service, both in Newfoundland and New York. He looked forward to this as a pleasant occupation for his old age, and had it been accomplished as he planned, his personal friends and contemporaries, who had been cognizant of, or participators in these incidents could, no doubt, have greatly enriched his chronicle by supplementing it with their own remarks and recollections.

He had carefully preserved a very large number of papers, dispatches and personal letters; all on matters bearing on the story of those old days; and had made memoranda relating to State papers and dispatches already deposited in the Archives of the Foreign Office in London, to which he expected to be allowed access. Indeed, he had already commenced his congenial task, when, but a few short months after his retirement, he was smitten with his last fatal illness.

It was many years afterwards, that, as the sole survivor of the family, all these papers came into my possession; and several more before I found leisure to examine them with the attention that they merited.

Struck by their unusual interest, I spoke of them to several of the public men who had personally known and esteemed my late father. Among these were his life-long friend, Mr. Cyrus W. Field, and Mr. Whitelaw Reid; and I also interviewed Mr. Richard Gilder, then Editor of the *Century Magazine*. All of these gentlemen most emphatically urged me to have the papers put into shape for publication. A busy woman, much occupied with many outside interests besides the care of a growing family, I deferred the task until I should have more leisure. Meanwhile the years were passing swiftly, and one by one those who could have contributed to the success of the undertaking had passed into the great beyond. The time came when I felt that in justice to the memory of my father, as well as for the benefit of our own immediate family connection, the story of his life should be told, and so I addressed myself—not without many misgivings—to the difficult though most absorbing task, becoming more and more convinced, as the history of his long half-century of public service unfolded itself before me, that it merited a place in the annals of his country, both as a record of life-long fidelity to high and important trusts, and as an incentive to the youth of Canada—an object lesson to those who to-day hold positions of weight and influence concerning one who fulfilled to the uttermost the requirement spoken of by the Prophet of old: to

do justly, and love mercy, and to
walk humbly with his God.

In every phase of the undertaking I have been much indebted to the advice and valuable assistance of friends; some of whom have been able to afford me access to documents and papers now in the Dominion Archives, or filed away in the Government Offices at Ottawa; which, otherwise,

would have been quite out of my reach. To each and all of these kind helpers I offer my grateful thanks; in particular to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden, G.C.M.G.; Sir Joseph Pope, Mr. James Crowdy, and to Dr. A. G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist, and W. C. Milner, LL.D., of the Dominion Archives, for facilitating my researches in this direction; to Mr. Justice Chisholm, President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and Mr. Justice Wallace, and Dr. David Allison, LL.D., as also to Professor Henry F. Munro and Dr. Archibald MacMechan of Dalhousie University for their invaluable assistance and criticism. To those kind friends in Boston and New York who helped so much by searching the forgotten records of half-century old journals and newspapers, my chronicle, such as it is, owes a great debt of obligation.

Fully conscious of its many faults and shortcomings, it now remains to me only to commit it to the charitable criticism of a public who, I trust, may, in the last analysis, be willing to repeat in my case the verdict for which my father begged as a commentary on his career and with which the book concludes.

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA,
October 30th, 1923.

E. J. A.

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FOREWORD

“And what, for this frail world, were all
That Mortals do or suffer,
Did no responsive harp, no pen,
Memorial tribute offer?”

THE little province to which Sir Edward Mortimer Archibald owes his birth has a population of a singularly cosmopolitan character. From all parts of England, from Scotland both highland and lowland, from Ireland both north and south, from France and from Germany, their ancestors came. Even at present, and much more so half a century ago, one child or another might learn at his mother's knee English, French, German or Gaelic. Amid all this admixture of races and tongues and creeds there has been a remarkable harmony in the spirit of the people. Tolerance in matters of religious belief is especially notable in Nova Scotia.

It is more than a century and a half since the Archibald family settled in that province. They were of Ulster stock and they have given to the national life of our country and of the Empire many distinguished men. One of the most notable was Edward Mortimer Archibald, the subject of this memoir. To his youngest daughter its preparation has been a labour of love; and her task has been adequately and faithfully fulfilled.

Sir Edward Archibald's long career of public service embraced duties of the most varied character. Its most interesting period is that of his consulship at New York. His service in that office was second in distinction and im-

portance only to that of the British Minister at Washington. It covered a stormy period; beginning two years before the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, it continued throughout the difficult relations which existed during and after that conflict; and it terminated after twenty-six years of consular service, in a happier era.

During all these years the Consul's keen foresight and wide vision, his broad and considerate outlook, his earnest devotion to duty and his admirable discretion earned for him not only the grateful appreciation of the Government which he served but the confidence of the great community in which his highly important duties were so successfully discharged.

His foresight and vision were never displayed more distinctively and strikingly than in the remarkable dispatch of April 24th, 1861, which conveyed to his Government the tidings of civil war, destined to rage for three years in the divided and distracted Union. If his conception of the conditions in the United States and of their certain outcome had impressed itself upon those who then directed and formulated the policy of Great Britain, the bitterness and antagonism that persisted between the two countries for many years might have been avoided.

His years of public duty were full and honourable. Not only his family but all his countrymen have a just pride in the memory of his distinguished service. To him at its conclusion the meed of praise that he received and had so well earned might be fittingly expressed in familiar words: "*Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.*"

R. L. BORDEN.

GLENSMERE, OTTAWA.

December 12th, 1923.

A MEMOIR OF
FIFTY YEARS OF SERVICE

LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR EDWARD MORTIMER ARCHIBALD

CHAPTER I

THE ARCHIBALD ANCESTRY

FOUR brothers of the name of Archibald were among the earliest settlers and grantees of the townships of Truro and Onslow in Colchester County, Nova Scotia. In the opening years of the eighteenth century they had emigrated to New Hampshire in New England from their homes in the parish of Maghra, Londonderry, Ireland. Originally of Scottish descent, their ancestors, it is said, crossed over to Ireland and settled there in the reign of William III, and there is a tradition that they took a prominent part in the defence of Londonderry during the famous siege, and that some among them were present at the Battle of the Boyne. What is certain is that James, Thomas, Samuel, and David Archibald, with their families, sailed for the New World about the year 1745 and settled in New Hampshire. About thirty other Irish families, comprising in all one hundred and twenty souls, emigrated with them.

A few years later the settlement was visited by an agent of the British Government, Colonel McNutt, who offered the settlers special inducements to come to Nova Scotia and take up lands lately vacated by the Acadians who had been, for political reasons, expelled from their

homes by the waters of the Basin of Minas and along the shores of the Bay of Fundy. Accordingly, in the Spring of the year 1762, taking with them their farming implements and household furniture and utensils, together with 117 head of cattle, seed corn and potatoes, the Archibalds and many of their neighbours sailed for Nova Scotia. The voyage from New England was long and tedious, the ships being detained by contrary winds, and it was well on to the end of May before they arrived at their destination. Soon after their arrival the Archibald brothers took up grants from the Government in accordance with the organized plan which was arranged at that time for all new settlements. This plan was to grant a township to a large number of proprietors, to be held by them in common, in shares or rights. Every share entitled the owner to a house lot, a farm lot, a wood lot, and a marsh lot.

Of the four Archibald brothers, the eldest, David, who was born in Londonderry, Ireland, in 1717, and had there married one Elizabeth Elliott, was the immediate progenitor of the subject of this memoir. He appears to have been the leading man of the new settlement, and shortly after his arrival in Truro he was made a Justice of the Peace and afterwards a major of the militia. His name stands first in the grant of the township, and it was he who first represented Truro in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, taking his seat on June 5th, 1766. His name also heads the list of elders in the Presbyterian Congregation and is first on the "call" given to their earliest pastor, the Rev. Wm. Cock.

David's eldest son, Samuel, who accompanied his father when they emigrated to New England, was born in 1742, and was thus but a young child when they left the shores of Ireland for the New World. He appears

to have received a very fair education, and is said to have been a good speaker and writer and an active man of business. Four years after his arrival in Truro he married, in 1766, Rachel Todd, the daughter of John Duncan of Haverhill, Mass. In 1771, he was appointed Town Clerk of Truro, a position which he occupied till the time of his death in 1780. He also represented Truro in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly from 1775 to 1777. He was engaged in business as a purchaser and shipper of lumber. On the 13th of November, 1779, he left Passamaquoddy, acting as supercargo in the schooner *Zephion*, of which he was part owner—Jonathan Ingersoll, master—with a cargo of lumber, on a voyage to Bermuda. This was during the war between England and her American colonies. On the voyage, while off Bermuda, the ship and cargo were seized as American property by a British privateer, the *Admiral Barrington*, Charles Sloane, commander. Despite the protests of the captain and the supercargo that they were loyal subjects of the Crown and that their ship and cargo had no connection whatever with the "rebels," the *Zephion* was carried to the island of Nevis and there ship and cargo were libelled in the Prize Court. A strong defence was put in and eventually the Court ordered the property to be restored to the owners. But, so far as Samuel Archibald was concerned, this decree came too late. According to one story he was insulted beyond bearing by "an officer," probably the commander of the *Admiral Barrington*, and fought a duel with him, in which he received "a wound so grievous" that he died a few days after, February 15th, 1780—a young man of but thirty-eight years; the decree in his favour restoring to him his property on the *Zephion* having been passed only the day before.¹

¹ Israel Longworth's *Life of S. G. W. Archibald*, p. 4.

At this distance of time it is impossible to say whether or not this story is correct; or whether, as another report has it, he died of yellow fever. All that the family now possesses of a record of his stay in Nevis is the following fragment of a letter to his wife, probably written immediately after his arrival there:

From Samuel Archibald to his wife

SABBATH, ISLAND OF NEVIS, BRITISH WEST INDIES,

November 21st, 1779.

Dear Rachel:

I beg you may not deny yourself any comfort in your power. By what I can learn it is at least probable that an overturn of affairs may take place in Nova Scotia next spring, but God knows whether it will be for the better; all men seem to mind their own things, and such a thing as religion is not known this way. If they have any profession at all, it is this, that Our Saviour purchased salvation for all men, and there is no such thing as an Eternity of punishment....

For God's sake, my dearest, make yourself as easy as possible; it makes me very unhappy to think how little satisfaction I fear you take in anything around you. Anxiety may do a person hurt, but to be over anxious can do no good.

We have a gracious and good God, to make application to in every time of distress, and blessed be His name; He has said for the comfort of all who trust in Him, "I will never leave you, nor forsake you." May His Grace be in every way sufficient for you, etc.

His widow was left in poor circumstances, with a family of five young children to bring up. Of these the third son, SAMUEL GEORGE WILLIAM, then but three years of age, was adopted by his grandfather, Major David Archibald, and brought up by him. The rest of the family continued to live with their mother on the old homestead, known as "Town's End," on the Salmon river, the title of which was held by Major David, father of the deceased Samuel. In 1783, the widow of Samuel Archibald married John Mackeen, Esq., and re-

moved to St. Mary's with her family. Young Sammy, as he was called, continued to live with his grandfather on Bible Hill, Truro, until he was fifteen years old. He is said to have been the merriest and most mischievous of all the boys of that neighbourhood, and there are many stories still extant of his mad pranks. But the boy's early days, passed under his grandfather's roof, were not altogether wasted. Such schooling as it was possible to obtain in those times he received; while he was early brought under the most earnest religious influence.

After the second marriage of his mother, little Samuel seems to have been especially the care of his eldest sister, Elizabeth Elliott Archibald, and it was through her efforts and by her assistance that he was afterwards sent to the United States to friends and relatives at Haverhill, Mass., for his higher education.

The story is told of him that one day when he was about fifteen years of age and was working in the fields on his grandfather's farm, he suddenly ceased and exclaimed: "If the handle points to the farm in coming down I will stop on here and be a farmer—but if it points towards the house I shall make every effort to get away and go to college." So saying, he threw his spade into the air. As he had hoped, the handle, when it fell, pointed to the house; Samuel at once went home and informed his grandfather of his decision, and not long after that means were found to send him to Haverhill, Mass., where he was received into the family of his mother's sister, Mrs. Rosanna Duncan.

As to the source of the money required for the boy's education, the family annals are silent, nor does his biographer, the late Israel Longworth of Truro, allude in any way to it. But a fragment of an old newspaper, *The Chignecto Post*, dated March 17th, 1881, found lately

among a mass of family letters and papers, may throw a little light on this matter. The article in the *Post* has for its subject the life story of the late Joseph Morse of Amherst, Nova Scotia—a man who played a distinguished part in the early history of the Province. Mr. Morse was at that time at Parrsboro in the home of his uncle, James Noble Shannon, to whom he had been sent by his father to be educated. Mr. Shannon, a graduate of Yale, was the son of Richard Cutts Shannon, Attorney-General of Connecticut and father of the late Judge Shannon of Halifax, N.S. He is said to have been a man of brilliant intellectual attainments, besides being a successful man of business. At that time he was engaged in trade; his schooners, laden with lumber and produce, plied between Eastport, Maine, and the West Indies.

The incident relating to S. G. W. Archibald, as given in this article, is as follows:

Early one morning, while walking on the beach, at Parrsboro, N.S., Mr. Morse met a young man who had come ashore from a schooner. They entered into casual conversation, when Mr. Morse invited him up to Mr. Shannon's for breakfast. At the breakfast table he said his name was Archibald. Some explanations followed, when it transpired he was the son of Capt. Archibald, the master of a vessel owned by Mr. Shannon, trading in the West Indies and who had died of yellow fever there. Mr. Shannon then said he had £200 of the Captain's money in his hands. This £200 he paid over to young Archibald. Captain Archibald himself could not more discreetly have used the money, for his son expended it on his own education, and thus laid the foundation for one of the most unique reputations in Colonial annals. He grew to be a lawyer and politician of immense influence, became Master of the Rolls, and the progenitor of a family that has ever since held distinguished positions both in the Imperial and Colonial services. Samuel George William Archibald was probably the most largely endowed of any of Nova Scotia's sons with those gifts that make a man a statesman and an orator. Even in troublous times

when men of great mental stature are called to the front, Archibald was ever a giant amongst them all.

It is quite evident that the "Captain" Archibald thus alluded to must have been identical with the Samuel Archibald, father of young S. G. W. Archibald, who died "of a fever" in the West Indies as already related; the only discrepancy in the narrative lies in the bestowal of the title of "Captain." Mr. Archibald went out on that fatal voyage to the island of Nevis as supercargo and part owner of the vessel; he never was a sailor or a navigator. But such inaccuracies as this are bound to occur in narratives which are handed down orally from one generation to another. The main point is that young Archibald, thus unexpectedly receiving part of his father's inheritance, used it wisely and well.

For some time he attended the Haverhill High School and afterwards completed his education at Andover Academy, then, as now, an institution of great repute both in the United States and in the Maritime Provinces. Towards the end of the year 1796 he returned home, well qualified to take his part in the business of life. He had been brought up under strong religious influence, was thoroughly familiar with the Scriptures, and at Andover had devoted much time to theological studies. He seriously considered proceeding to Scotland to be ordained a Presbyterian minister. But he evidently changed his mind with regard to a profession, and about the year 1800 he became a law student in the office of Mr. Robie, then a member and later Speaker of the Assembly. We find him not long afterwards acting as prothonotary of the Supreme Court and Clerk of the Peace for Colchester county.

Two years later he married Elizabeth Dickson, a

daughter of Charles Dickson, Esq., then recently deceased, who had been a member of the House of Assembly for Onslow, whilst Samuel's own father and grandfather had represented Truro.

The courtship of young Archibald and Elizabeth Dickson was most romantic. Marriages in those days were not infrequently "arranged" by the parents, and it seems that old Major David Archibald and his wife, and the widow of Charles Dickson of Onslow had mutually desired that a marriage "should be arranged and shortly take place" between Mrs. Dickson's daughter Mary and young S. G. W. Archibald, who, then not long returned from his studies at Andover College, had entered upon his life career at the Bar of Nova Scotia and was already making his way, and earning many golden opinions—if not many golden guineas—in his chosen profession. The young people appeared to be not averse to this arrangement. Already there had been one alliance between the families, for David, elder brother of Samuel, had lately married Olivia, Mary's sister.² So matters

¹This Charles Dickson, also an immigrant from New England to Nova Scotia, had resided in King's County till about the year 1771, when he removed up the bay to Onslow, where he purchased a large tract of land and at once became prominent as a farmer, merchant and ship-builder. In 1772 he married Amelia Bishop of Wolfville, N.S. He was Registrar of Deeds for Colchester, besides being Member of Parliament for Colchester County, N.S. On September 16th, 1780, he was appointed Justice of the Peace for what are now the counties of Pictou and Colchester. In 1796 he sailed in one of his own vessels for the West Indies. On his return he called at Halifax but was then already stricken with yellow fever and died there September 3rd, 1796. He is buried in the southwest corner of Old St. Paul's churchyard opposite Government House, Halifax.

After his death his four sons carried on his business for years under the name of John Dickson & Co. Of these Charles Dickson, second son, married, in 1799, Rachel Todd Archibald, the sister of S. G. W. Archibald, whilst as we have already said, Samuel himself married her younger sister, Elizabeth Dickson, and his brother David (eldest son of the Samuel who died at Nevis) married Olivia Dickson, twin daughter of Charles Dickson. Thus the two families were very closely connected by marriage.

²David Archibald was the eldest of the family of Samuel Archibald who died at Nevis, West Indies, in 1779. He married Olivia Dickson, another of the daughters of Charles Dickson of Onslow. Their son, Thomas Dickson Archibald, born 1812, was a leading personality in the Island of Cape Breton where for many years he carried on an extensive business covering many occupations. The firm was known as Archibald & Co. and included ship-building, the operation of the Gowrie coal mines, as well as an extensive com-

went along until one bright summer's day, young Samuel on his way to Court at Wolfville, looking in for a chat with the Dickson family at Onslow, was asked by Mrs. Dickson if he would take a small parcel to Elizabeth, the youngest daughter, who was then at school not very far away, where two English women kept a "select academy for young ladies." This he gladly consented to do, for Elizabeth was a general favourite. Accordingly, after his Court duties were over, he rode down through the beautiful country towards the establishment of the Misses—. Introducing himself to them as the messenger of their pupil's mother, after much persuasion he was permitted to have an interview with the young lady—who, it seems, was at that moment in dire disgrace for some misdemeanour, and had been condemned to the seclusion of her room and bread and water for the day. When she finally appeared, pale and tearful, her tale of the hardships and severities of boarding-school, and her heartfelt appeal to the young man to "please, *please* take me home!" so worked upon him that he finally consented to do so, and, as she accompanied him to the front gate, he caught her up on his horse—like another young Lochinvar—and rode off with her before the very eyes of the shocked and bewildered old ladies!

Here indeed was a flutter in the dovescotes! Never in the whole course of their long and honourable experience as the instructresses of youthful maidens had even the thought of such an outrage occurred to them!

Meanwhile Sammy and Elizabeth pursued the even

mission business and a banking agency. T. D. Archibald was a leading member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia for many years previous to the Confederation of Canada, when he was made a Senator of the Dominion House. He married first Miss Susan Henderson Corbett, of Pictou, N.S., by whom he had several sons and one daughter. In 1874 his second son, Charles, was married to Edith Jessie, daughter of the subject of this memoir, thus once more uniting after three generations the two families of the Archibalds and the Dicksons. Senator Archibald died in 1886.

tenor of their way through leafy lanes and across the lovely country towards the Dickson home. It was a long day's ride, and, before it was over, the world had changed for both of them. Up till now Elizabeth had seemed to young Samuel a mere child—a charming, bright little creature to play with and to tease or banter; whilst to Elizabeth he was just her brother's chum and oh! *worlds* older than she! To fifteen, twenty-five seems almost patriarchal!

But somehow—with those soft white arms clinging to him as she rode behind him on a pillion, and with her pretty face—now wreathed in smiles—peeping over his shoulder as she chattered gaily to him of familiar home topics—or, when they stopped to rest at some wayside cottage and she dropped trustfully into his embrace as he lifted her carefully down from the saddle—he suddenly realised that the child was a child no longer. Finally as the sun was setting and they came in sight of her home at Onslow, the full significance of this wild escapade began to dawn on them. How was Elizabeth to face her astonished and rightly indignant relatives? And what possible explanation could be made by young Archibald as to his presumption and folly in yielding to the entreaties of a spoiled child and unlawfully removing her from the care of the good women at the establishment for young ladies? The two were in an impossible situation and the more they thought of it the worse it seemed to become. Conversation languished between them for some time till, finally, the silence was broken by the piteous sobs of poor Elizabeth. Checking his horse, Sam took her gently in his arms and tried his best to soothe her, at the same time cursing himself roundly for his mad folly in having placed her in such a situation. But Elizabeth's tears still fell, and she refused to be comforted, till of a

sudden her companion realized that to have the right to kiss away her tears and to protect her from any and every sorrow was the one and only privilege he wanted in this life! One can well imagine the bewilderment and anger of the Dickson family when the guilty pair presented themselves before them that evening; the reproaches, the dismay, the righteous indignation of Elizabeth's mother! But by this time the culprits had recovered their poise, and stood bravely to their assertion that nothing should ever be permitted to come between them, even if they had to wait *years* before they could be man and wife. At last the mother relented; she had set her heart upon having young Sam for a son-in-law in any case, and though there was a sort of family understanding that Mary would be allotted to him, there was no formal engagement between them as yet. So the story runs that, finally, Mrs. Dickson consented, on condition that Sam should "make it all right with Mary," which advice he is said to have followed promptly and satisfactorily, as Mary, it appears, had another string to her bow. So Elizabeth Dickson and Samuel George William Archibald were married not long after,—March 16th, 1802,—the bride being the ripe age of fifteen and a half and the bridegroom twenty-five. She bore him in all fifteen children, of whom nine lived to grow up. In 1830 she passed away at Halifax, to the intense grief of her husband and family.

Mrs. Archibald's sister, Lavinia Dickson, became the wife of Reverend John Burnyeat, of Loweswater, England, first rector of St. John's Episcopal Church in Truro; and her daughter and namesake, Elizabeth Burnyeat, the child of this marriage became in later years the wife of Sir Adams G. Archibald, K.C.M.G., first Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba and for ten years Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia.

A beautiful bell was presented by S. G. W. Archi-

bald to this church, with this inscription on it:—"This bell was the gift of Honourable S. G. W. Archibald, LL.D., to St. John's Church, Truro, in the Diocese of Nova Scotia, A.D., 1827," and it is in this church also that an imposing mural tablet of Italian marble commemorates the memory both of Samuel G. W. and Elizabeth Archibald and their children and also Joanna Brinley, his second wife, with her three daughters. Mr. Archibald's first wife, Elizabeth, was however the love of his life, and of their long and happy partnership it may be said in the words of Scripture: "They were lovely and pleasant in their lives and in their death they were not divided," but sleep within the same enclosure at Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax, N.S. The second Mrs. Archibald survived her distinguished husband sixteen years; after his death she went abroad and died in 1862 at Pisa, Italy, whither, with her two daughters, she had gone in search of health for Sarah, her eldest child. She is interred there in the English Cemetery.

In 1806, when but twenty-nine years old, S. G. W. Archibald offered himself as a candidate for election to the Nova Scotia House of Assembly for the county of Halifax, which at that time included, besides Halifax county, the town and county of Pictou, Truro, Londonderry, and Onslow, all in Colchester county.

From this time (1806), when he entered the Assembly, until 1841 when he left it, he took a leading part in all the public questions which arose during that long period. "The history of his life in that time," says his biographer, the late Israel Longworth, of Truro, "is very much the history of the Province." "There were," he continues, "during this period many able men, many eloquent speakers and powerful reasoners in the Legislature, but no one of them attained the dominant and permanent influence



HON. S. G. W. ARCHIBALD

Speaker of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court
Attorney-General of Nova Scotia and Master of the Rolls
Born 1777, died 1842

which Samuel George William Archibald exercised over that body; no other man contributed so much to mould the institutions and shape the destinies of Nova Scotia."¹

He was eight times in succession, between the years 1806 and 1840, elected to represent Halifax and Colchester counties in the Nova Scotia Legislature, whilst in 1827, following upon his election, he was appointed Speaker of the House, a dignity which he enjoyed for a period of sixteen years. Besides being Solicitor-General and afterwards Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, he also held for Prince Edward Island the Crown appointment of President of the Council of that colony and Judge of the Supreme Court of the island. In 1840 he was made Master of the Rolls and Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Nova Scotia. He died in Halifax on the 28th of January, 1846, and is interred in Camp Hill Cemetery.

Hon. Joseph Howe, in the columns of his newspaper, the *Nova Scotian* thus wrote of Mr. Archibald, a man whose political views and opinions were widely divergent from his own, but who had had opportunities of knowing him which few other men enjoyed:

If the manners, the temper or the intellect of a country were to be judged by a single specimen culled from the mass of its population, we know of no man to whom all eyes would have so naturally turned, to produce upon strangers a favourable impression, as to him who was followed to the grave by his fellow-citizens on Saturday last. That "we shall ever look upon his like again" appears to us very improbable, for we often saw him surrounded by able men, none of whom presented so rare a combination of intellectual and agreeable qualities, and we look round our own contemporaries and do not find his equal.

Born in a humble sphere, his genius rose above vulgar prejudices, and even when elevated to the highest public positions, his purse was as open to the poor as his heart was to all those sympathies from which spring enlarged legislation, dedicated to the general good. Almost self-educated, and, perhaps, profound upon no single topic, his range of

¹Israel Longworth's *Life of S. G. W. Archibald*, Page 10.

information was extensive, and his wit often breathed the spirit disencumbered of the rubbish of classic lore.... Trained in his youth to mechanical employment, his person was remarkably handsome, and his manners polished and unrestrained. Tried by every vicissitude of Provincial public life, his buoyant spirits never forsook him, nor did the crisis which ripened the judgment harden the heart....

Circumstances made him often a courtier, and official employment made him the guardian of the prerogative, yet he was for years the darling of a popular Assembly, and while discharging the onerous duties of an officer of the Crown, rarely forgot that he was the Representative of the people. There were more laborious men than Mr. Archibald, both at the Bar and in the Assembly, but he generally outshone them all, by a tact that was almost instinctive, a discretion that seldom erred, a flowery eloquence that never offended good taste, and homeliness, yet brilliancy, of wit, the native growth of the country, and adapted to its humour, by which an opponent, when most in the right, was often driven from the field and made to split his sides at his own discomfiture. It may be that we were over-partial to our countryman, but we often looked around the benches of Congress, of the British Parliament, and of the Canadian Legislature for a man combining so many of the points of a brilliant and polished orator, but looked in vain. A more dignified and imposing Speaker we never saw in the chair of any Legislative Assembly.

CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE AND SURROUNDINGS

IN the development of character, one of the most important factors is the potent and far-reaching influence of environment. The home, with its surroundings, consciously or unconsciously to the growing child, plays a vital part in the moulding and shaping of the young lives born under its sheltering roof. It is therefore not unfitting that, before entering upon the life-story of the subject of this memoir, a brief description should be given of the home of his boyhood and of the social and educational conditions by which it was surrounded.

Fifty years had passed since the first settlement of Truro; the earlier hardships and difficulties had been bravely met and, in a large measure, successfully surmounted; whilst much had been done to establish some degree, at least, of comfort and even of culture in the town itself and in its surrounding districts. The marshes which, after the expulsion of the Acadians had been allowed to overflow until they were simply miles of useless bogs covered with water, had been reclaimed and now bore smiling harvests of rich meadow grass and grain. The forests, extending on all sides, had been partially cleared, houses built and farms cultivated.

On the occasion of the celebration, September 13th, 1883, of the 122nd anniversary of the founding of Truro, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, Sir Adams G. Archibald, K.C.M.G., himself a descendant of James,

one of the four Archibald brothers, thus describes the home of Hon. S. G. W. Archibald on "Bible Hill."¹

There were the offices of the lawyers practising in the county.... There too was the Holy Well, consecrated in French Acadian times. After the English came, it was at this fount that generations of lawyers, while attending the court, which generally lasted a week each sitting, slaked every morning the thirst, born of the exhaustive festivities of the previous evening which distinguished those days. There, too, was the Free Masons' Hall, which preceded temperance organizations and had, perhaps, something to do with creating the necessity for such societies. Then there was the Bachelors' Hall, where some eight or ten young men lived together,—lawyers, doctors and merchants,—many of whom afterwards achieved distinction, though at the time they were noted more for the pranks and diversions and frolics which belong to youth, than for the more solid qualities of men of business. Thus the "society" of Truro was all on Bible Hill. There was one thing to add to its lustre. At that part of the town was the residence of the great man, not of Truro only, nor of Colchester, but of the whole Province. He was our representative in the Assembly from 1806 to 1841, and during that period wielded a power in the Legislature that has never been attained by any other man—before or since. His house stood on the east side of the road. The view from the front door, looking to the west across a rich meadow studded with lovely elms, was one of the finest in the Province, and many a gay company has stood on the platform of the old portico of that house, gazing on this beautiful scene, now in rapture with the lovely picture spread out before them, now moved to laughter by the sallies of wit and humour which issued from the lips of the brilliant host. Is it any wonder then that with all these advantages and attractions Bible Hill was Truro

¹Adams George Archibald was a [descendent of James Archibald, one of the four brothers who were original grantees of the township of Truro, N.S., in 1762. His father, Samuel Archibald, lived near the family of the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald on Bible Hill. Young Adams showed a natural aptitude for the law, which attracted the attention of his distinguished kinsman and he early took him into his office and instructed him in legal matters. In later years A. G. Archibald became a prominent figure in the political life of Nova Scotia, and, after Confederation, of the Dominion. He was a member of both local and Dominion Parliaments. In 1870 he was appointed first Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba on its inclusion in the group of Canadian provinces. He afterwards served, with great acceptance, two terms as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. He was made K.C.M.G. in 1885. Though only distantly connected on the male side of the house with the subject of this memoir he married a first cousin of Sir Edward M. Archibald, Miss Elizabeth Burnyeat. The two men, so much in the public eye, were all through their lives close friends.

“par excellence?” It was fashionable Truro; it was official Truro; it was business Truro; it was sporting Truro. The part of the town which lay to the south of the river, the part where we are now assembled, was a mere suburb of Truro. The Hill, on the first settlement of the town, fell to the lot of a family of Archibalds who were Presbyterians of the strictest sort, and it was probably the sneer of the less orthodox and devout, who were inhabitants of this side of the river, that gave birth to the name of Bible Hill, which has stuck to it to this day. But it is almost the only thing that has stuck to it. The whirligig of Time has brought about strange reverses. Go there now and you will look in vain for Court House, or Registry of Deeds or of Probates, for post offices or mail coaches, for Masons’ or Bachelors’ Halls, for judges or lawyers or prothonotaries. No great statesman resides there, the cynosure of all eyes. All have disappeared. Lastly,—and this is the strangest thing of all,—when Truro came to receive a mayor and corporation, Bible Hill, so long the only Truro known to the world, was actually left out of the municipality; what had been the whole of Truro was no longer even part of it. “Ichabod” was written over its doorposts. The glory had departed from it.

The homestead itself commanded a magnificent view from its point of vantage, looking across the fertile “Inter-vale” towards the marshes and into the blue distance bounded by the Bay of Fundy. Down in the meadows below the house, stately elms reared their plume-like branches, bordering the silver thread of the Salmon river, as, with many a curve, it rippled gently along over its beds of white sand and gravel towards the sea. Behind the house, which was large and commodious, lay a well cultivated garden in which fruits, flowers, and vegetables grew in abundance; whilst on the steep slope of the hill, beyond the paddock and pasture, the mountain trees still marshalled their serried ranks; growing out to the edge of the bluff which overhung the murmuring stream below. So beautiful was the prospect that it has been fittingly described by Joseph Howe in one of his racy sketches “Eastern Rambles,” published in the *Nova Scotian* in 1830.

That the Truro of that period—1810—was not the town of Truro of to-day is a fact that must be kept in mind; practically all the residences, public buildings, etc., being situated on Bible Hill. There were the Post Office, the Custom House, the offices of Judge and Registrar of Probate. There was also a hotel from which ran the stage coaches which connected the town with Halifax and with Pictou.

In communities such as these the main conditions of life were common to all, and in most cases the history of one household was very much the history of every other one. Especially was this the case in families where there were many children. Even when the family was possessed of a considerable income, the wife had to take a much more leading part in the activities of the household than is the case at present, and that not only in regard to the care of the children and the oversight of the usual domestic duties. In those early days, when materials of all kinds were difficult to obtain, shops but few, and poorly supplied, a very large quantity of cloth and linen was spun and woven at home. These Irish settlers from New England appear to have been especially noted for their textile industries, for we find Lieutenant-Governor Francklin, in a dispatch to the Secretary of State in London, 1766, thus writing:

The townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry, consisting in the whole of 664 men, women and children, composed of people chiefly from the north of Ireland, make all their own linen and even some little to spare to the neighbouring towns. This year they raised 7,524 lbs. flax, which will probably be worked up in the several families during the winter.

It is worth while quoting an additional passage from this dispatch to show how the Government of that day regarded the policy of promoting domestic manufactures

among our people. Governor Francklin, after stating how busily the people were employed in the art which they had probably brought with them from the great seat of the flax industry in the North of Ireland, and apparently fearful that the jealousy of British manufacturers might be aroused, goes on to say apologetically:

This Government has at no time given encouragement to manufacturers which could interfere with those of Great Britain, nor has there been the least appearance of any association of private persons for that purpose; nor are there any persons who profess themselves weavers, so as to make it their employment or business, but they only work at it in their own families during the winter and other leisure hours.

The wool from their sheep was knitted into stockings for the whole family and also spun and woven into cloth; and a great event of the year was the arrival of the traveling tailor who came with his shears, yard measure and "goose"¹ and sojourned with each family for a longer or shorter period, to help supply the sartorial needs of its ever-growing urchins. After him came the peripatetic cobbler to make or mend the boots and shoes of the family, while the visits of the wandering pedlar, with his pack full of requisites for the women of the household,—calimancos, sarcenets, muslins, etc., etc., besides the most tempting ribands and accessories with which to trim these materials,—afforded to the quiet country gentlewoman of long ago all the excitement and pleasure of a modern bargain-day at a big department store. Climatic conditions, too, tended then even more than they do to-day to increase the heavy responsibilities of the Nova Scotian housewife. The care of all the stores of meat, butter, eggs, etc., which had to be laid in early in the winter and salted down or frozen to last over the long months from December till May, was in itself no light task. Then, too, there was

¹A tailor's smoothing iron.

the barley, wheat, and oats to be sent to the grist-mill for the use of the family. No oil-lamps were used in those days, so candle-making was a constantly recurring task, and every household had its candle-moulds, and was proficient in the gentle art of producing "farthing dips," or the more aristocratic wax tapers from the native bay-berries.

Slavery was not altogether unknown in Nova Scotia even in the year 1827, and it was quite a common thing for the more well-to-do families to have one or more negroes in their employment.¹ There is no doubt that the family of the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald employed several coloured men and women as farm and household workers. Whether or not these people were slaves or free we have no certain information, although, in the later years at any rate, they must have received a small pittance in return for their services.

It was in this homestead at Bible Hill, Truro, Nova Scotia, that the subject of this memoir, Edward Mortimer Archibald, fifth son of Samuel G. W. and Elizabeth Archibald, first saw the light, on the 10th day of May, 1810.

Already four sturdy boys had come to brighten the home, and the hands of the young mother, still in her early twenties, were more than full—but, as is always the case with true mother-hearts, a warm and loving welcome awaited the little stranger. At this distance of time very little is known of those intimate details of daily life which constitute the history of families. Of this we may be sure, that, in those days, women considered the bear-

¹"A recorded document, dated Truro, 1779, proves complicity with slavery on the part of the early Scotch-Irish settlers in Nova Scotia, the larger number of whom had come by way of Pennsylvania and other Middle American provinces. Through this paper Matthew Harris, of Pictou, yeoman, 'bargains, sells, aliens and forever makes over unto Matthew Archibald, of Truro, tanner, his heirs and assigns, all the right, property, title or interest he now has or hereafter may pretend to have to one negro boy named Abram, about twelve years of age, born of Harris's negro slave in Harris's house in Maryland'." N.S. Historical Society's *Collections*, Vol. VIII.



RESIDENCE OF HON. S. G. W. ARCHIBALD, BIBLE HILL, TRURO, N. S.
Birthplace of Edward Mortimer Archibald
From a Photograph, 1862



VIEW OF HALIFAX—1838

ing of many children to the man of their choice the crown and glory of their womanhood, and, when their hour of trial came upon them, went down heroically into the dark abyss of their suffering and agony with a courage and cheerfulness well-nigh unknown to the women of the present generation. How many precious lives were sacrificed, how much needless suffering inflicted by customs born of superstitions and ignorance! In the light of modern knowledge one wonders how mother or child escaped the many perils which surrounded them—perils which in most cases were caused by the well-meaning but harmful attentions of friends and attendants.

Anæsthetics were then unknown, and even when, later, there came rumours of the merciful effects of the new discovery of chloroform, its use was loudly denounced, even by the expectant mother herself, as being directly opposed to the expressed will of Heaven, which pronounced in the Holy Scriptures its awful doom upon woman, that “in sorrow and travail she should bring forth her children.” There was a total ignorance of the ordinary laws of hygienics and sanitation, and it is little wonder that, in the majority of cases, only the hardiest and “fittest” survived the period of childhood out of these large families of long ago; and that, in the majority of instances, but few of them lived to any great age.

This, then,—the fifth son out of fifteen children borne by Elizabeth Dickson Archibald to her husband,—was the only member of that large family, save one other, destined to round out the allotted span of man’s life. His name, Edward Mortimer, was given him in honour of Edward Mortimer, of Pictou, a much esteemed and life-long friend of Mr. Archibald’s, and a man prominent in the history of Nova Scotia, both politically and as one ever ready to forward everything connected with the good of the com-

munity in which he lived. Both he and Mr. Archibald took a vital interest in the establishment of the Pictou Academy, which, under the wise and skilful leadership of the Rev. Dr. McCulloch, played such an important part in the educational history of the Province.

Edward's baptism, however, did not take place until some years after his birth. In the early period of the history of Truro it would seem that the administration of the Sacraments of the Church only took place occasionally and at long intervals. What the exact reason for this state of affairs was, we do not know; unless, it may have arisen either from the absence of a settled pastor, or, possibly, from the inability on the part of one or both parents to satisfy the somewhat stern and rigorous requirements of the theologians of those days as to their fitness to give the proper orthodox religious training to their offspring. Be that as it may, in after days, when looking back upon the scenes of his childhood, the then Sir Edward Mortimer used to tell his own children about the summer afternoon long ago when he, a little chap of not more than six, was, with his two brothers, one older and one younger, having a glorious time wading in the brook, and of how they were ruthlessly dragged into the house, hastily "washed and scrubbed up," indued with their best Sunday jackets and trousers, and taken down into the parlour, where, with two younger members of the family, including the last new baby, they were forthwith solemnly baptized by some minister, whose name he could not recollect, but thought it must have been the Rev. John Waddell. The five thus formally presented with their already familiar names, would probably have included himself, his three brothers, Charles Dickson, Thomas Dickson, and Blowers, and his sister Elizabeth. Of these five little people, two at least were destined in

after life to play prominent and distinguished parts in England and America.

Mr. Waddell, the Presbyterian minister of Truro at that time, was a well educated man, being a Master of Arts with Honours of Glasgow University, and well versed both in Divinity and in the "Humanities," as the Classics were then styled. His influence on the youth of the neighbourhood in the matter of their education was very great, and there is little doubt that the children of the Archibald home on Bible Hill were early brought under the direction and discipline of his teaching. The schools were very primitive and elementary, but we know that Mr. Waddell taught, for some time at least, in a little school-house which stood in a grove near the Henderson house on Bible Hill.

There was also on Bible Hill a small elementary school taught by Mrs. Upham, a widow, a connection of the Archibald family. The books used were *Dillworth's Spelling Book* and the *New England Primer*. The latter, a gem in its way, was illustrated by coarse black woodcuts. One of these represented the youthful Timothy repelling an attack from his Satanic majesty, the latter adorned with the orthodox horns and tail; underneath ran the legend: "Young Timothy learned Sin to *fly*."

Very few copies of this book are now extant, although the writer was shown one of them, the property of a friend, not many years ago. The old horn-book, as it was called, had not at that period—about 1817—become completely obsolete; for the writer remembers her father telling her about one of these curiosities which was in use in his family when he was a small boy. It consisted of two thin sheets of horn, semi-transparent, between which was clamped a page of reading or spelling, or possibly only an alphabet and a few figures. In view of the tremendous number of

children in my grandfather Archibald's family,—in all fifteen by his first wife and three by his second,—one is led to infer that an indestructible primer must have been a valuable educational asset.

There were but few inducements to persons to offer themselves as instructors of youth in those early days. Teachers were generally employed for three months, and an agreement was written and signed in the following form:¹

We, whose names are annexed to this paper, agree to engage Thomas Jones to teach school for us, for the term of three months, and we agree to pay him eight shillings for each scholar sent to him by us, and we also agree to board him, each one in proportion to the scholars sent. {Signed} John Brown, 1 scholar; Wm. Smith, $1\frac{1}{2}$ scholars; John Archibald, $2\frac{1}{2}$ scholars; David Crowe, $\frac{3}{4}$ scholar; Jas. Walsh, $1\frac{3}{4}$ scholars; Henry Walsh, 2 scholars.

To add insult to injury, teachers were supposed to take what is called a "poor scholar" (a whole one, not a fraction) to every eight or ten paying scholars! The term "paying" was misleading; and not infrequently, for coin of the realm, there was substituted grain, vegetables, or other garden truck available at the time. During the winter the scholars were also required to supply the fuel. A number had their portion sent from home; but others, not so fortunate, were compelled to gather wood along the road on their way to school in sufficient quantities to heat the school-room for the day.

So one can readily imagine young Edward Mortimer, at the age of six or thereabouts, with "shining, morning face," tripping soberly along the road, a shrinking little "fraction" of a scholar, holding tightly to the hand of his next older brother, towards the dreaded temple of learning presided over by "Aunt" Upham. For the lady, we

¹Truro's *Natal Day* Pamphlet, Page 78.

are told, was of somewhat uncertain temper, and a tale is extant in the family that on one occasion, being annoyed by the pranks of young Peter Archibald, she kept him in and gave him for punishment a whole chapter of the Bible to learn by heart. Peter, who was a remarkably quick and clever child, after twice or thrice hurriedly reading it through, repeated it word for word. This so exasperated his teacher that she boxed his ears with the New Testament and drove him out of the school. These were the days before the *Gradus ad Parnassum* had been made smooth and pleasant for little learners, and when the rod, and certain other weird punishments, awaited the unlucky child who neglected his task or, haply, found it beyond his comprehension. Some of these penalties were closely allied to torture; for instance, compelling an unlucky urchin to stand barefoot on two small stone ink-bottles—a most excruciating performance! Another favourite aid to learning was to draw a line with chalk on the wall, high above the child's head, and to compel him to stand with uplifted arm touching this line. Sir Edward always maintained that this cruel punishment was the cause of one of his shoulders being slightly higher than the other.

Apart from these academical severities, the life of the children in the Archibald home on Bible Hill must have been a very pleasant one. They had the freedom and the delights which only country children can know. Living close to Nature, roaming at will over the beautiful countryside, fishing or wading in the river in summer, and in the winter coasting and playing in the snow—all these and many other occupations made up a background to their lives which in after years they never forgot, and which they loved to refer to in their letters to each other when widely separated by land and sea. And in the at-

mosphere of the home there was the deepest and most touching family affection—an affection which never changed or wavered—between the many brothers and sisters; whilst in their gentle and loving mother, refined and cultured, always ready to share their fun and frolic, notwithstanding the urgency of her many household and maternal duties,—they possessed a wise and loving friend and counsellor. For their father they had an almost adoring respect and admiration, which deepened and strengthened as they grew towards maturity and as they began to understand the leading part which he played, until the day of his death, in all the public affairs of the Province.

Following upon the instruction in the dame school on Bible Hill, Edward M. Archibald attended a school in Truro presided over by Mr. Porter and an assistant master. This school enjoyed a good reputation and the teaching is said to have been excellent, if somewhat limited in its scope.

CHAPTER III

HALIFAX DAYS AND MARRIAGE

As the years passed and brought with them increasing public duties and responsibilities, S. G. W. Archibald, Speaker of the House of Assembly during a period of sixteen years, was appointed Attorney-General of Nova Scotia and Surrogate of the Vice-Admiralty Court of the Province, and found it necessary to pass much of the year in Halifax; consequently, he removed his family thither to a residence still standing on the corner of Salter and Barrington Streets, now occupied by the Sisters of Charity of the Halifax Infirmary. This home soon became a centre of the genial hospitality for which Attorney-General Archibald and his wife were so noted. Mr. Archibald had a very extensive law practice and to be trained under him was counted a great advantage. His elder sons, Charles and John, were at this time students in their father's office, whilst Thomas and Edward and afterwards their younger brothers attended the newly established Halifax Grammar School, of which the Rev. Thomas Twining was then the Head Master. This school was the first public school established in the Province and had its first domicile in a building on the corner of Barrington and Sackville Streets, which had originally been occupied by the Legislature, and it is also said to have been used at one time as a guard-house.

The Committee appointed by the Legislature to establish this school is said to have raised the requisite

funds—fifteen hundred pounds sterling—by a lottery. The Head Master's salary was fixed at one hundred pounds per annum; and, if the pupils numbered more than forty, an assistant was to be provided for him, who, like Goldsmith's country parson, should count himself to be "passing rich on forty pounds a year."

But the establishment, in 1816, of Pictou Academy marked the beginnings of higher education in the history of the Province of Nova Scotia. Under the exclusive domination of the Church of England, the children of dissenters in Nova Scotia had, at that period, practically no opportunity of acquiring anything but the most elementary education. The Arts Course at King's College, Windsor, was open only to those students who were willing to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion as set forth in the Prayer Book of the Church of England, and to attend Divine Service in the College Chapel. Even granting their admission in compliance with these somewhat drastic requirements, there was still lacking the preliminary training to fit them for matriculation into the college, unless by private tuition. It was to offset these disadvantages that the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, a Scotch Presbyterian minister in Pictou, who for some years previously had been giving to a few private pupils lessons in Mathematics and the Classics, conceived the idea of founding a school for the purpose of affording the children of dissenters those literary and scientific acquirements which should qualify them for the learned professions.

After a long and protracted struggle to secure the recognition and financial support of the Nova Scotia Legislature and Council, Pictou Academy was opened in 1816, receiving from the Government a grant of four hundred pounds. The course included Latin and Greek, logic and composition, moral philosophy, mathematics and algebra.

No religious tests were required from the scholars. There were twelve trustees, all of whom were Presbyterians. The school was a success from the outset, and pupils flocked to it from the surrounding country. Among those who attended were no less than three of the sons of S. G. W. Archibald,—his eldest son Charles Dickson, his second son Thomas Dickson, afterwards the brilliant lawyer and learned Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench in England, and Edward Mortimer. In after life, each of these men cherished the warmest and most delightful memories of their Pictou Academy days, and of their relations with Dr. McCulloch. Nova Scotia has great reason to be proud of the magnificent record of this pioneer institution of classical education in the Province, and, at the celebration a few years since of the one hundredth anniversary of its founding, the long roll of names prominent in the history of the Dominion as educators, statesmen, scientists, and jurists gave abundant evidence of the thoroughness and efficiency of its curriculum.

During the years in which the young Archibalds were students at Pictou Academy they were warmly befriended by their father's life-long friend and colleague, Edward Mortimer, and were made welcome to his hospitable home. Mr. Mortimer was the leading citizen of Pictou; deeply concerned in its industrial success, as also foremost in helping on every wise and good movement. He was especially the friend and champion of Pictou Academy from the outset of its existence, and vigorously championed its cause in the early struggles with the Legislature.

The social life of Halifax from 1820 to 1830, in which the Archibalds played a prominent part, is not without interest. The Governors in those days, as well as the Council, being appointees of the Crown, did not fail to magnify their "brief authority" by a pomp and etiquette

quite unknown to-day. Then, too, the presence of the large military and naval contingents gave life and colour to the daily routine of what would otherwise have been a rather dull and obscure colonial town. Especially was this the case during the term of years—1795 to 1802—when Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent,—the father of Queen Victoria of illustrious memory,—was Commander-in-Chief of the North American Forces. There are still records in the files of old newspapers of brilliant balls and “routs” at Government House, attended by scores of gallant and distinguished men and fair women; and of gargantuan banquets at the “Pontac” and “Jerusalem” inns, where the long succession of courses might well have vied with any Lord Mayor’s feast; and where deep and strong were the potations which washed down the succulent viands provided for the guests.

The fashionable promenade at that time included the east side of Barrington Street from Government House to Freshwater Bridge; from a point south of Inglis Street, along the water front, and up Inglis Street to what is now Tower Road; and here, every afternoon, might be seen the belles of the town in company with officers of both Services, gallant and smart in their scarlet or blue uniforms, gay with much gold lace.

Every Sunday there were parades of the whole garrison on the Common, attended by the Governor and his Staff and graced by a brilliant assemblage of all the fashionable society of Halifax. In the afternoon the regimental bands played before the residences of their respective colonels, attracting large crowds. It was also a favourite amusement to drive into the country and take tea at certain well known inns, such as the “Blue-Bell” and the Rockingham Club, or at a house near Prince’s Lodge, formerly the country seat of the Duke of Kent,

where he and the beautiful and accomplished Madame St. Laurent lived for many years and kept up a sort of semi-regal state.

The Archibald house on the corner of Barrington and Blowers Streets soon became a centre of social influence and hospitality. Of its master, Judge Archibald, the Hon. Joseph Howe writes as follows:

Those who have seen him at the head of his own table, or shared the enjoyment of his fireside, need not be reminded of the ease with which he threw aside the cares and labours of life, as a knight of old threw off his armour when the battle was over, and indulged in the merriment of the hour with the vivacity of a wit and the playfulness of a child. His jests were endless, and his stories—nearly all of them Provincial—inimitable.

The five sons were all musical, Edward distinguishing himself on the violin; whilst their sister, Elizabeth, whose charms were immortalized in the London *Book of Beauty* for 1831, was the possessor of a sweet and well-trained voice. With so many attractive young people in the home there were frequent delightful little impromptu parties. In all these entertainments the father and mother entered freely and fully into the pleasure and happiness of their children and their children's guests. An intimate friend of the family was Lady Mary Fitzclarence, wife of Colonel Charles Fox. Lady Mary was a natural daughter of King William IV by Mrs. Jordan, her husband a son of Charles James Fox, Lord Holland.

In 1830, when, as Acting Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, S. G. W. Archibald went to London to have his appointment confirmed, he took with him his beautiful and accomplished daughter, Elizabeth, in hopes that the sea voyage would benefit her health which was even then beginning to show symptoms of the ruthless and fatal disease which, a year later, cut off the young life.

The eldest son of the family, Charles Dickson, after being duly called to the Bar of Nova Scotia, and having recently received the appointment of Clerk to the then newly established Supreme Court of Newfoundland, was away in St. John's; John, the second son, just married, was with his bride, *née* Annie Mitchell, residing in Truro at the family homestead; thus Edward, then a law student in his father's office, was left in charge of the family in Halifax. Young as he then was,—only twenty,—he seems to have been very reliable; and that his judgment was considered worth consulting is shown by the letters addressed to him by his father and his elder brother.

These letters describe in an interesting though modest way some of the many social attentions paid by leading persons in London society to the colonial statesman and his daughter. It will be noted that through them all there runs a strong desire for the attractions of the family and the home.

In one of them, written from London to his son Edward and dated March 28th, 1831, the Attorney-General says:

From S. G. W. Archibald

My dear Ned:

Elizabeth has been bled, agreeably to the orders of Dr. Clarke, and I think is much better for it. She was in a bad way before she left home and nothing short of this voyage and the good care taken of her could long have saved her, but I hope to bring her back in good health. Dr. Clarke is a most celebrated man, and his visits must be few as they are a guinea a visit. . . .

I am invited to Windsor to see the King, etc., and if Elizabeth is better on Monday we may go. There is an excellent carriage for us which is to put up at the King's stables and Mrs. Fox will provide for us. I am invited to the King's table and evening party there, which is considered a great honour in this country. I am only anxious now to finish my business, public and private, and return to you as soon as I can. With all the attentions paid me here, there is no place like

home, and possessing advantages of society here over everyone who has travelled from America, I must say I would rather ride with you and Annie to Economy than to-morrow to Windsor....

...Charles' [his eldest son] commission only passed two days ago, there was such an arrear of business in the time of the old King [George IV]. Ministers cannot increase any salaries and there are so many sons of noblemen ready to take any fresh office that it is well to hold it. They will always keep him in view in any Law advancement, and he must be contented at present. We little know how well we are situated in Nova Scotia, and a voyage to this side of the water would do anyone good who was discontented.

I am most pleased with the marked attentions paid me by all in office, and glad that I have at present little to ask for: my claims are the best, founded on service and ability to do my duty, which makes me feel a degree of independence which I would not otherwise possess. I know not what the Bishop or the Judge are doing in any way; there will be no political promises made to any man at this time. I dined yesterday with my old friend Stephen of the Colonial Office, with many lawyers and members of Parliament. I am to spend a week with Mr. Rundell at his seat in the country with Elizabeth, but I must end all business first.

She will tell you of all our movements and of our invitations. I am advised by Mr. Petersdorff not to purchase any law books at this time as so many changes are contemplated. There are several new books which he recommends, and I will consult the Lord Chancellor, who I am to see in his house in a few days, on the subject; he is a splendid fellow. I have heard many of his opinions, which you will read.

I will continue my place under the *Throne* and attend there rather than at any public amusement....

Charles Wallace will consult with you about the Morris St. house; if it is to be rented, I think I will be with you in time for anything of the kind. I have to restrain Elizabeth; she wishes to buy for all the family. I tell her, as I must tell them, they must not expect too much, and the best present I can take them will be myself—please God that may be the case. After the three hard and expensive years when I have been without salary, I may say I hope I may now be enabled to make a little headway, if I can return in good health. I am indeed much better....

...I can say nothing to you in the way of business; how the Courts are to be managed in the Spring I know not; any trials must

I think be by consent before one judge, and as to criminal cases I will give you no opinion. I hope they may contrive to have two on each Circuit; which cannot be unless the Chief-Justice is able to take part of the duty. I will not draw any of my salary here as we will need more on my return, but the Agent will pay me on my own application if I require it.

Elizabeth has sent you a lot of music. She would not consent to allow it to remain until I went out. And now, my dear Ned, this letter must serve for you all....

I can say nothing further of political prospects. The Government will do whatever the House of Assembly may require in reason....

I am promised an audience on the affairs of the Pictou Academy, which is delayed by the bad health of Mr. Hay. I will stick to it until justice is done to the institution.

With my love to you and all in town and country, and hoping soon to hear from you, I remain, my dear Ned,

Yours sincerely,

S. G. W. ARCHIBALD

Remember me kindly to all at MacNab's, the Greys, Chipman and all friends at the Bar and others. John must do the same in the country. I hope to drive with him and Annie ere July ends. While the great object here is to get into the company of lords, Kings, etc., Wallace will tell you how much I have studied to avoid it.

I am under promise to visit Lord Holland once a week, on his recovery, and, among others, I have formed an intimate acquaintance with Lord Cochran and see him frequently in his splendid mansion at Regent's Park. I had a long walk with Sir David Douglas yesterday—he is a fount of learning....

...Elizabeth went yesterday to Mrs. Fox to remain, and we miss her much; she is better, but her health is by no means good. She will be absolutely quiet there, and it is a country of gardens near Holland House. Nothing can exceed the kindness of all Lord Holland's family. Sir James sent his elegant carriage yesterday and we took a ride in the Park and paid all our fashionable visits....S. G. W. A.

His reference to his "place under the Throne" is explained by a passage from another family letter—this time from Charles D. Archibald, his eldest son, writing

from St. John's, Newfoundland, to his brother Edward in Halifax.

He says:

Before this reaches you, you will most likely have letters from father, though you cannot possibly have heard from him so late as I have. Father had 27 days' passage to Liverpool and reached London on the 21st February. Found all friends in expectation and he and Elizabeth had experienced the greatest kindness. They made their first appearance at the Marquis of Lansdowne's, at a splendid "rout," and Elizabeth was highly complimented in some of the morning papers. Since then they have been in the midst of society and great folks. Elizabeth is now living with Mrs. Fox. I have a newspaper in which is an account of the King's levee of the 9th March. It says: "Mr. Archibald, Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, stands directly after the foreign Ambassadors"—and in the list of presentations he is again mentioned as presented by Viscount Goderich. I see by the papers that he had two or three audiences of Lord Goderich. He writes me that he had been frequently at the Colonial Office and found all things going on right there. His Commission (as Attorney-General of Nova Scotia) was made out long since. Hill's appointment of Solicitor-General is set aside and Fairbanks is appointed. The Lord Chancellor has been very kind to father and they had had several parleys. *He has given him a perpetual pass into the House of Lords and a seat under the Throne.* He is decidedly the *greatest* man of the Nova Scotia party.

In the year 1831, Edward M. Archibald was duly called to the Bar of Nova Scotia as a practising attorney, and one year later received a second certificate licensing him as a barrister. The disabilities under which, at that time, all Roman Catholics laboured are clearly demonstrated by the form of these legal certificates, and from the prescribed oaths of office which the candidate for admission was required to take. The document, admitting him to the Bar, is a narrow slip of parchment, yellowed by age, and covered with the fine and elegant writing which is now a lost art. It runs as follows:

PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA (SEAL)	{	IN HIS MAJESTY'S Supreme Court of Judicature for the Province of Nova Scotia, in the Term of Hilary, in the first year of the Reign of King William the Fourth ANNOQUE DOMINI 1831.
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[SGD.] J. W. NUTTING
Dep. Proth. & Cler. Cor.

These are to certify to all whom it may concern that EDWARD MORTIMER ARCHIBALD of Halifax, in the County of Halifax, and Province of Nova Scotia, Esq., was on the twenty-fifth day of January in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, duly admitted and enrolled an Attorney of HIS MAJESTY'S SUPREME COURT of Judicature for the Province of Nova Scotia, he having on that day in open Court first taken the oaths of Supremacy, Allegiance, and Adjuration, and made and subscribed the Declarations against Popery, and having also taken the Oath of an Attorney.

*Given under the Seal of the said Court
Dated at Halifax this twenty-fifth day
of January in the first year of His
Majesty's reign Annoque Domini 1831.*

[Signed] S. S. BLOWERS,
Chief Justice.

On the tenth of October in that same year, E. M. Archibald received the appointment of Chief Clerk and Registrar of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland; a post which, as has been already stated, had been held for a year or two by his elder brother, Charles Dickson Archibald, but from which he had resigned in order to take up his residence in England, following upon his marriage to a young English lady who possessed considerable estates in Lancashire.

That so young and presumably inexperienced a man should have been chosen for so important an office would be a matter of surprise to-day; but it is evident that the thorough training received under his distinguished father

must have been taken into consideration by the Colonial Office in England in giving him this appointment.

He at once proceeded to Newfoundland and on the 8th of November, 1832, entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office, as of those of Clerk of the General Assembly of Newfoundland, to which post he had also been appointed by the Crown. The next two years were filled with work and the duties of this new and absorbing office, but the year of grace 1834 brought with it even more and far-reaching changes, to chronicle which we must once more return to glance at the social life of Halifax.

Although, as has been stated, the family of the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald, Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, had been brought up Presbyterians the fact that their mother, Elizabeth Dickson, was a member of the Church of England had tended to broaden their religious views. While the family pew at old St. Matthew's Kirk¹ had its regular quota of occupants every Sabbath, there is abundant evidence that the service at old St. Paul's also possessed great attractions for, at least, the young men of the family. And quite naturally so; for, in those days, the Sunday morning service at St. Paul's took upon it the nature of a public function, in which not only the Governor and his Lady, with their household, but also most of the military and naval officers, with all fashionable Halifax, played a prominent part.

In the *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Thomas Beamish Akins says:

¹The Vaults under the old historic St. Matthew's Kirk, the first Presbyterian Church in Halifax, were said to have been used at one time for the storage of barrels and casks of liquor and strong waters. This led to a joke perpetrated by some wag, as one day a paper was found pinned to the church door containing these lines:

"There are spirits above and spirits below:
There are spirits of weal and spirits of woe.
The spirits above are spirits divine
But the spirits *below* are spirits of wine!"

Sunday presented a gay scene at Halifax in those days. There being then no Garrison chapel for the troops, the regiments in garrison, preceded by their brass bands playing, marched in full dress to St. Paul's and St. George's churches, amid the ringing of bells and the sound of martial music. The carriage of the Governor (who was then always a General officer) in full military costume, with his Aides-de-Camp drove up to the South door of the church, the whole Staff having first assembled under the Portico, which then ran along the southern end of the building. His Excellency, followed by a brilliant display of gold lace and feathers, the clank of spurs, and the shaking of plumed hats of so many officers, most of whom were accompanied by their ladies,—on entering the Church, presented a most brilliant spectacle. All this was followed by the old Chief Justice Blowers in his coach, the carriage of the Admiral, and several members of the Council. All being seated and the body of the Church full of fashion and dress, the peal of the organ began to be heard, and the clergy in surplice and hood (he who was about to preach, however, always in a black gown)—proceeded from the vestry up the East aisle to the pulpit, preceded by a Beadle carrying a large silver-headed mace; who, after the clergy had taken their seats, deliberately walked down the aisle again to the Vestry, with his mace over his shoulder. The rector, Dr. John Inglis, usually preached in the morning, and the curate, Mr. J. T. Twining, performed the service. They were frequently accompanied by other church clergymen on a visit to town, and in Lord Dalhousie's time his Chaplain, the Rev. Isaac Temple, always took part in the service; frequently preaching in the afternoon. On the sermon in the morning being concluded, the troops marched back to barracks and the General and Staff returned to Government House, where they partook of luncheon, and were again in requisition by three o'clock for the grand Review of troops on the Common.

After the coming of Sir Peregrine Maitland as Governor this state of affairs was, however, altered. Sir Peregrine was a devout man who professed much and carried it out rigidly. He and his family always walked to Church on Sunday and their example was generally followed. Their influence made itself felt through all ranks in the town. Among the regular attendants at St. Paul's in those days was a family of Richardsons. Andrew Rich-

ardson,¹ son of Andrew Richardson, of Haddington, Scotland, was born in Portsmouth, England, had come to Nova Scotia with his parents when quite young, and, later, had married Miss Sarah Munday, daughter of Richard Munday and Mary Kinslow, both of Halifax. Miss Munday was a cousin of the Inglis family, so famous in the annals of Nova Scotia, and consequently related to the hero of the siege of Lucknow. The marriage of Andrew Richardson to Sarah Munday is recorded in the Parish Register of St. Paul's as having taken place on the second day of April, 1809. They had three sons and three daughters whose charms seem to have fully justified their popular title of "the beautiful Miss Richardsons" and many were the glances cast at the Richardson pew by the young "bloods" of Halifax during the somewhat lengthy periods of the weekly sermon, and great the rivalry at the church door afterwards as to who should be favoured to escort them home.

The eldest of these girls married first Andrew Brown, of Amherst, and afterwards became the wife of Thomas Kinnear, of Halifax, of whom we are told that he was "distinguished for his good looks and fashionable appearance." The youngest, Kate, had a special attraction for young Edward Mortimer Archibald, who just to gaze on

¹In an obituary notice of the father of Mrs. E. M. (afterwards Lady) Archibald, the *Halifax Recorder* of that date says (in part): "Mr. Richardson was born in Portsmouth, England, on the fifteenth of March, 1787, but from his early youth was a resident of this city [Halifax]. . . . No individual was better known or more respected. In the performance of the various important offices which he filled, he was extremely diligent, yet he was invariably kind, gentle and conciliatory. For upwards of forty years he was connected with the Excise department of the Customs. He was well known to all, especially to the poor and needy. He was also an able and enthusiastic member of the militia force, having risen from the rank of private soldier, when in 1804 he mounted guard on the Parade, when the regular troops were called away to Canada, until, rising through successive grades, he reached the highest rank in the Provincial Militia—that of Paymaster-General, with the rank of Lt.-colonel. He also acted as Provincial Aide to three of the Governors of Nova Scotia—Lord Falkland, Sir John Harvey, and Sir Gaspard le Marchant. As a citizen he excelled in hospitality and friendship, and his memory will long be embalmed with affection in the hearts of many besides his sorrowing relatives."

her charms, became quite a regular attendant at St. Paul's. Another of her ardent admirers, who subsequently became a well known citizen of St. John's, Newfoundland, meeting, many years afterwards the youngest daughter of his early attraction, told her that, "it was a sight just to see those girls come into church! They held themselves so proudly and dressed so beautifully with their 'tip-pets' and 'fal-lals' in the very latest London mode that it was a pleasure to behold them. They and the lovely Misses Hill, from the Dockyard, carried off the palm for beauty, grace and distinction."

Be that as it may, pretty Kate Richardson was long very closely observed by Edward Archibald, then but a youngster of eighteen, while she was, comparatively speaking, but a child. We have his own words for this, in the letter in which he offers her his hand and heart, two years after he had received his Newfoundland appointment. In this letter, now before me, bearing date of May 10th, 1834, his twenty-fourth birthday, he writes as follows:

To Kate Richardson

It is now many years since I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with you—you were then very young; but I felt a deep and fond interest in you which has increased with increasing years, and time has only tended to strengthen the sincerity and devotedness of my attachment. Pardon my vanity, dear Girl, if I have at times fancied that I was not altogether uninteresting to you, since it is one reason why I am desirous that we should now come to a more explicit understanding of our feelings towards each other. I know I possess but little of the romance of a lover, and but few, perhaps, of the qualifications—requisite in an aspirant for a more honourable estate of social life; but if, with the approbation of those whose wishes you deem it your duty to consult, you will consent to become the partner of my humble lot, it shall be the pleasing endeavour of a heart warmly devoted to you to make you as happy as the uncertainty of human affairs shall permit.

In making this proposal I am fully sensible of the heavy respon-



KATHERINE ELIZABETH RICHARDSON, 1834
Wife of Edward Mortimer Archibald
From a Water-color Drawing



KATE RICHARDSON

From a Silhouette by "Master" Hanks of New England

sibility I am desirous of assuming, in offering myself to be the guardian of your happiness,—but we should both be mindful of the limited degree of happiness which this world affords, and we must seek in another world for that true enjoyment which here is sought in vain.

To this note I ask at present but your own reply—what further it may be necessary to determine upon, will be a matter of after consideration.

Believe me, dear Kate,

Your attached and affectionate admirer,

E. M. ARCHIBALD.

And, although to modern ideas this formal love letter may sound stilted, and even somewhat priggish, there can be no doubt that a deep and loyal and lasting affection had sprung up between these two young people, for, but a very few months later, another marriage was added to the register of St. Paul's and the Richardson pew thenceforth declined in interest to the young beaux of Halifax.

Pretty Kate, having consented to bestow herself upon her faithful admirer forthwith trips up to the Portrait Gallery of "Master Hanks"¹ on Hollis Street, not far from her own dwelling, and there has her charming silhouette "cut out with scissors" and mounted—somewhat funereally, if the truth must be told—in an ebony frame. It is before me as I write—evidently a wonderfully faithful likeness of a charming girl; whose daintily poised head, crowned with abundant hair, is exquisitely set above a slender neck and graceful figure. These silhouettes were all the rage in fashionable Halifax society just then, and especially so those executed by "Master Hanks" whose fame in his art, both in his native New England and in Nova Scotia has come down to us through all these years.

Another attractive portrait of "bonny Kate" is a water-colour sent to her, sometime after her marriage, by

¹*Collections*, N. S. Historical Society, "Art and Artists in Nova Scotia," by H. Piers

a former admirer, a military man, who appears to have consoled himself for his disappointment by immortalizing the charms he was fated never to possess. This picture gives her colouring of light golden brown hair, fair complexion and blue eyes. The features are regular, the nose straight, and the mouth very sweet. There is a hint of firmness and decision about the well-rounded chin. The hair is elaborately curled and dressed on the top of her head, with a bunch of what used to be called "cannon curls" at each temple.¹ She wears long pendant earrings.

The Richardson home at that time was on Hollis Street, where they occupied a house still standing. It was from this house that Edward Mortimer Archibald and Katherine Elizabeth Richardson were married, on September 10th, 1834.

It was an inauspicious time for merry-making, inasmuch as the year was known in Halifax annals as the "cholera year," and this dread disease was then raging, and just about this date had reached the maximum of its ravages. So the wedding was a quiet one, taking place in the parlour of the Richardson home, and attended only by the immediate relatives and friends of the family. Out in the street fires of spruce and cedar boughs, fed with aromatic herbs, were burning and their pungent odours penetrated into every house. These baleful reminders of the common danger were popularly supposed to keep off the infection of the cholera.

Many neighbours, however, gathered around the house

¹ Questioned as to whether this elaborate mode of hair-dressing was usual, my mother admitted that this particular instance was a "party coiffure," and that often, before important balls or "routs," the local hairdresser's duties began early in the morning of the day previous to the function, and the girls had to take their turns in submitting to this form of torture; not daring to lean back one moment in case they might disarrange it and often not daring even to retire to bed, unless they rested their uneasy heads upon a small hard bolster roll, designed for the purpose of keeping the elegant coiffure from injury!

to watch for the departure of the bride and bridegroom, who were to leave, immediately after the ceremony, for Pictou, on the stage-coach, which at that time formed the only communication between Halifax and that town. Soon it clattered up, its four horses impatient to be off; the pretty bride, attended by her laughing girl friends, emerged from the doorway and was gallantly assisted by the bridegroom up to the box-seat beside the driver; the last farewells were said, handkerchiefs fluttered, and old shoes were thrown after them for good luck, and they were off on their long life-journey.

Arrived at Pictou, the bridal couple embarked at once upon a small schooner bound for St. John's, Newfoundland, for the bridegroom was anxious to resume his duties as Clerk of the Supreme Court without further delay. Their brief honeymoon was passed upon the schooner in surroundings which to-day would deter most modern brides from attempting to "commit matrimony." On arriving off the harbour of St. John's, it was discovered that the authorities would not permit the bridal pair to land, fearing that they might have brought with them the dreaded scourge of Asiatic cholera. So they had to sail on up the coast, and there, landing in an obscure fishing village, too remote to have even heard of the cholera in Halifax, they made their way—after a day or two spent amid the most primitive surroundings—to St. John's; and ultimately took possession of the house recently vacated by Mr. Archibald's brother, Charles.

This bachelor establishment was evidently very comfortable and well appointed in every respect. Charles Dickson Archibald was a young man who possessed a very good opinion of himself, and who, in modern parlance, "did himself very well." We can infer this from one of his letters to his brother Edward, in Halifax, writ-

ten after Charles had just opened his bachelor establishment, and needed certain luxuries in the way of furniture, hangings, etc., etc., that could not be obtained in St. John's at that time. In one of these letters he writes as follows:

I have written to England for the principal part of my furniture, and expect it shortly. I have ordered a four-post bedstead for my State Bed Room, but I shall require another with bed and bedding for my Stranger's room. A complete concern of that kind may often be bought cheap at the Sales of Furniture in Halifax, and I wish you to be on the look-out. I want a good article, since it will be for the apartment in which Amelia, or whoever else pays me a visit, will sleep. If you cannot purchase, let Andrews make me a decentish sort of bedstead, but not an expensive one, and let Amelia make me a set of sheets, pillow cases, etc. I expect to have a visit from her shortly; she will think of many little things that will come into play for a bachelor, and she and Mary can make me many useful articles.

All of these somewhat imperious orders were faithfully carried out by his brother Edward, and no doubt Amelia and Mary were both kept busy with the manufacture of many of those "little things," besides the bed linen, which would "come into play," as he says, "for a bachelor."

But the bachelor, who "had hoped to escape the matrimonial noose for some years longer," as he remarks elsewhere in the same letter, was now "Benedick the married man"; and so, together with the duties and emoluments of the public position which he had just vacated at St. John's, he made over, for a substantial consideration, the entire contents of his bachelor establishment to the newly married pair.

Here, then, they settled down; and as the years came and went a group of happy children¹ filled the home with

¹ In all six daughters and two sons were born to Edward Mortimer and Katherine Archibald.

the sunshine of their presence until, the nest being now too small, Mr. Archibald built a large brick residence on the Kingsbridge Road, which is still standing, and which, after his departure from the island in 1854, was occupied by the Misses Le Gallais as a ladies' boarding school, and was subsequently purchased by the Anglicans as a residence for Bishop Field.

TWENTY-THREE YEARS
IN ENGLAND'S OLDEST COLONY

CHAPTER IV

IN ENGLAND'S OLDEST COLONY

WHEN E. M. Archibald assumed his position as Chief Clerk and Registrar of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland, Sir Thomas John Cochrane was Governor of the island. He had entered on his official duties in 1825, and occupied the post for a longer period than any other Governor previously appointed.

The ancient Colony of Newfoundland, at this period, may be said to have been in the birth-throes of its constitutional and political existence. Up to a very short time previously its affairs had been more or less desultorily administered by the Admiral in charge of the North American Naval Squadron, who was also Commander-in-Chief of H.M. Forces, and who was authorized to act as Governor of the island. Among the early administrators was Captain (afterward Admiral) George Bridges Rodney. Their functions were almost as unlimited as their powers were arbitrary; they had to appoint magistrates and, after swearing them in, to instruct them as to their duties and privileges; to receive reports of all kinds and from all sorts of persons on every conceivable subject; to define boundaries, settle rival claims to property, judge of the validity of wills, etc., etc. It was not until after 1749, the time of Rodney's administration, that there was even a court established for the trial of criminals, and the Governor himself had to receive complaints of wrong done

and take measures for the punishment, more or less severe according to circumstances, of offenders.

But now, in this year of grace 1832, events had moved on towards a more enlightened and less archaic form of government. In the Governor's commission there was introduced a clause which ordered that a number of persons nominated by the Crown should divide with him the burden of responsibility. The body thus formed was termed a Council. This Council was to all intents and purposes similar to the body of the same name in Nova Scotia which, as the years passed, became the source of so much strife and dissension and, from its haughty and overbearing practice of constantly ignoring the will of the Assembly, brought upon itself the hatred and dislike of the people, and was ultimately abolished. The Council in Newfoundland, as at first constituted, included, with the Governor, Chief Justice Tucker, Assistant Judges Des Barres and Molloy, and Lieutenant-Colonel Burke,—all nominated and appointed according to royal instructions. Three of these were to form a quorum to transact business at any time during the absence, illness, or possible death of the Governor; that member whose name stood first on the list being appointed to substitute for him. At that time Newfoundland had no Supreme Court of Judicature, and thus the outstanding event which distinguished the early part of the administration of Sir Thomas Cochrane was the promulgation of His Majesty's charter establishing this Court. This event took place, January 2nd, 1826, and was, we are told, characterized by a degree of ceremony beyond what had ever before been seen in St. John's.

From the description of the proceedings it appears that a large and imposing party assembled at Government House to witness the swearing in of the Chief Judge

and Assistant Judges, among those present being the Officer Commanding His Majesty's Forces, the magistrates and heads of departments civil and military, the clergy, the Chamber of Commerce, the Grand Jury, and many of the principal inhabitants of the town, after which the Royal Charter was delivered by the Governor to the Chief Judge and by him handed to the Chief Clerk of the Supreme Court, to be borne by him to the Court House and there read aloud to all assembled. A procession was then formed according to the programme previously arranged, including constables, lawyers, clerks, magistrates, etc., which proceeded to the Court House. After the reading of the Charter, all prisoners who were then confined to the jail were called to the Bar, and after being solemnly admonished by the Chief Justice, were informed that His Excellency the Governor had been graciously pleased to pardon them and that they would be set at liberty. The Great Seal of the Court bore an impression of the Royal Arms, with the inscription "Seal of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland." The salaries of the different officials were, for those days, on a very generous scale.

With the inauguration of this Charter commenced an era of more courtly display in connection with the Civil Government of the Colony. The Governor was commanded to appear on public occasions in the uniform worn by Lord Lieutenants of the English counties, only the body of the uniform must be "blue, with lappets, epaulettes and gold lace." The Chief Justice, we are told, was to sport a blue coat, but no epaulettes or lappets. The Chief Magistrate presented a fine appearance in a blue coat with red cuffs and collar, buttons with Crown and "G.R.", cockade on the side of his hat. Even the constables were included in these Court Regulations

and went about their duties gaily attired in blue coats with "G.R." buttons and red waistcoats.

Governor Cochrane seems to have been a wise and far-seeing man, and he administered the affairs of the Colony with great tact and judgment. As the years passed, however, there was a growing desire on the part of the people for a local legislature similar to those granted to the other North American Colonies of the Crown. The agitation on behalf of this object embraced not only a large majority of the working people but also numbers of the more wealthy and prominent inhabitants both of St. John's and the outports. Trade was increasing; the revenue of the Colony was becoming considerable and those from whom it was obtained, not unnaturally, wished to have something to say as to its disposal. Meetings were held, memorials and petitions to the Secretary of State and to both Houses of Parliament were transmitted, all demanding that institutions for self-government should be granted to the people of Newfoundland. There were, of course, the usual controversies and counter agitations on this subject, and objections were put forward, such as that the country was not ripe for such a radical change; or that self-government was only suited to a stationary population and not to a fishing community. But the movement continued to spread and the probabilities of its success increased.

On July 25th, 1831, the matter was introduced into the House of Commons, in a discussion on the Civil Estimates proposed for Newfoundland. This fact so encouraged the citizens of St. John's that all classes of people, Catholics and Protestants alike, combined to send petitions to the King and Parliament, urging "the great importance and absolute necessity of obtaining a legislature for this island." The petition to the King was entrusted

to the Governor, Sir John Cochrane, the memorials to Parliament were forwarded for presentation to Lord Holland, for the House of Lords, and to Mr. Robinson, for the Commons. These memorials arrived in England at a very critical time, and might well have been disregarded, owing to the important matters then pressing upon public attention. It was, however, the period when the reform agitation was at its height, and the cry from the distant and almost unknown colony of Newfoundland happened to be in harmony with the loud and insistent voice of the home country, whose people were demanding the same kind of boon.

In a letter dated January 25th, 1832, Mr. Brooking, Chairman of the Newfoundland Committee, informs the Committee that success is in sight, and that Viscount Goderich (then Colonial Minister) had assured him of the intention of His Majesty to confer upon Newfoundland a representative Government, similar to those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Sir Thomas John Cochrane returned to St. John's from England on August 26th, 1832. He came provided with full instructions and also with a proclamation under the King's Sign Manual authorizing him to summon the General Assembly. The island was to be divided into nine electoral districts. He was directed to call his Council together and to communicate his instructions to them. The first elections for the House of Assembly were appointed to take place from September 25th to December 8th, 1832. On the 1st day of January, 1833, the first session of the new Legislature was convened, and the first steps taken towards that agitation for responsible government which, during the twenty-three years between 1832 and 1855, eventually led to the complete autonomy of the island.

This then was the state of affairs when young Ed-

ward Mortimer Archibald arrived in Newfoundland to take up his duties as Clerk of the Supreme Court, November, 1832, as well as those of Clerk of the General Assembly, to which post he had also been appointed by the Crown, and which he held until 1837. Being familiar with the legislative forms and precedents of the Province of Nova Scotia, he bore, from the outset, a prominent part in framing the rules and systematizing the proceedings of the Assembly.

In the session of 1833 occurred the contest between the Assembly and Council in regard to levying additional duties on imports, the power to impose which was denied by the Chief Justice and Attorney-General who led the Council, and the Revenue Bill was consequently lost. On the statement of the case to the Home Government, the opinion of the Council was pronounced untenable, and Chief Justice Tucker resigned his office. The argument of the Assembly in support of the Bill was drawn up by Mr. Archibald. In 1834 he was appointed, temporarily, an assistant judge of the Supreme Court and sat as one of the Court in the Hilary and Trinity terms of that year. In 1837 Mr. Archibald ceased to be Clerk of the Assembly.

In 1838 Mr. Archibald prepared the judgment pronounced by Mr. Justice Lilly of the Supreme Court, in the celebrated case of the privileges of the Colonial Legislature which, although over-ruled by a majority of the Supreme Court was, on appeal, sustained by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.¹ This judgment led Lord Glenelg to select Mr. Archibald for a seat on the bench, or the office of Attorney-General, to which latter post he was afterwards appointed.

In the year 1838 occurred in the Assembly the now

¹Moore's *P.C. Cases*, Vol. 3.

widely known and studied legal fracas, popularly known as the "*Kielley vs. Carson*" case. Mr. Kent, one of the members of the Assembly, had an altercation in the street with one Dr. Kielley—a well known medical practitioner of St. John's. Feeling ran high between them and in addition to fierce and stormy vituperation, Dr. Kielley is said to have shaken his fist in the face of Mr. Kent and threatened him with personal chastisement. Such an outrage to the dignity of the Legislature, as represented by Mr. Kent, was not to be treated as a common or vulgar personal assault, which could be tried by any magistrate. Mr. Kent felt that, in thus insulting him and in threatening him with personal violence, the infamous Dr. Kielley had threatened the peace and outraged the dignity of the entire Legislative body. He, therefore, determined to carry the matter before the House and, instead of treating it as a case of common assault, to make it a question of breach of Parliamentary privilege, a determination which he carried out the same day.

The House took the matter seriously and debated it for some time with closed doors. After the public were admitted, Dr. Kielley was ordered by the Speaker to be brought to the Bar of the House, upon which he was informed that a complaint of violation of the privileges of the Legislature had been brought against him by an honourable member and that, in consequence, a committee had been appointed to consider the matter. The report of this committee was then read, in which Dr. Kielley was declared to have committed "a gross breach of the privileges of this House which, if allowed to pass unnoticed, would be a sufficient cause for deterring members from acting in the independent manner so necessary for a free Assembly." The request of the accused that he might be allowed to produce witnesses on his own side

was refused, the Speaker informing him that his only course was to plead his ignorance of the privileges of the House, to profess his sorrow and regret for what he had done, and to "throw himself on the clemency of the Assembly." This Dr. Kielley, not unnaturally we think, indignantly refused; and, becoming irritated and excited, so far forgot the path of prudence as to give utterance to expressions regarding his opinion of the Legislature, which undoubtedly brought him within the scope of its punitive powers. So he was promptly marched off in custody of the sergeant-at-arms. Two days later, Dr. Kielley sent a written apology for his conduct before the House, but at the same time utterly refused to sign a document prepared as an expression of his regret for the assault on Mr. Kent, which, doubtless, he considered to be an entirely private and personal quarrel which had nothing to do with Legislatures. On the day following, he was brought before the Supreme Court on a writ of Habeas Corpus, and tried by the Hon. Judge Lilly, Bryan Robinson defending him in a very able speech. The plea put forth by him was, first, that the House of Assembly did not possess any such privileges or powers as those they had assumed in the course of these extraordinary proceedings, and, second, that if they had possessed them, the warrant under which Dr. Kielley was arrested was so informal as to render it illegal. In this latter point the Judge concurred and consequently discharged the prisoner, but, a few days later, he delivered a lengthy and able judgment on the principle involved in the whole question. The contention of this judgment was that the House was not possessed of the high powers which they had arrogated to themselves; that, unlike the Parliament of England, no such powers were inherent in a Colonial Legislature such as this; that such powers were not re-

quired for the protection of the members, and, lastly, that even if they were necessary, they would first require to be declared and enacted by the Legislature.

This judgment, although delivered by Judge Lilly, was prepared entirely by E. M. Archibald. A memorandum to this effect was found among his papers after his death; and his assertion that he was the author of this judgment is more than substantiated by the following letter, marked "Secret and Confidential," from Lord Glenelg to the then Acting Governor of Newfoundland, Captain Prescott.¹

From Lord Glenelg to Captain Prescott

DOWNING STREET,
2nd February, 1839.

My dear Sir:

As it is probable that a vacancy may soon occur in the Bench of Newfoundland, I am anxious to obtain your opinion of the Members of the Colonial Bar who may be considered as candidates for promotion. In considering this question my attention has been strongly drawn to the proceedings in the late dispute between the Assembly and the Supreme Court in regard to the commitment of Mr. Kielley—an account of which has appeared in the local newspapers. It seems to me that the judgments delivered in this case by Mr. Lilly, and more especially that in the December term which is reported in the Public Ledger of the 4th January, evince considerable ability and acquaintance with the Constitutional and Statute Law of this country, and I should therefore under ordinary circumstances be strongly disposed in the event of a vacancy to confirm Mr. Lilly's provisional appointment to the Bench. But it has been stated by those who have apparently the means of knowing the fact that in preparing those judg-

¹Upon the envelope which contained the letter, Mr. Archibald had written the following memoranda:

"Original letter (3rd February, 1839) from Lord Glenelg to Governor Prescott, Newfoundland, in reference to the *Kielley vs. Carson* Judgment, Habeas Corpus, etc., Governor Prescott replied that it was entirely mine. This ultimately led to my appointment as Attorney-General of Newfoundland in 1846.

"In December, 1846, I received from Captain Prescott a warm letter of congratulation on my appointment as Attorney-General, in which letter he stated that this appointment was what he had contemplated and desired.

E. M. A."

ments Mr. Lilly received very great assistance from Mr. E. M. Archibald, and that to the latter gentleman is in reality due the praise of research and legal knowledge which they display.

I have no means of ascertaining this fact myself, but I request that you will favour me with your opinion on the respective merits of these two Gentlemen, and of any other members of the Colonial Bar who can be considered as Candidates for the Bench.

I need not impress on you the necessity of considering this communication as strictly private and confidential.

I remain,

My dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

GLENELG.

CAPTAIN PRESCOTT, R.N., A.G.

But the Kielley case was by no means ended with the discharge of the offending medico. The House became quite hysterical with indignation and adopted a hasty resolution aimed at the offending Mr. Robinson who had moved for the discharge of Dr. Kielley and had afterwards served a writ against the Speaker, Carson, who, at that time, occupied the position of Master in Chancery to the Legislature. They proposed to "send him to Coventry" by refusing to receive any further communication from him. This absurd motion was, however, recalled. Another equally foolish proposal was embodied in a motion to bring before the Bar of the House the editor and printer of the *Newfoundlander* newspaper, for gross violation of its privileges in having published a report of the judgment of Mr. Justice Lilly! The climax of their indignation was reached, however, when they again issued warrants against Dr. Kielley, who had been discharged from custody; against the High Sheriff,—for liberating him,—and last, but not least, against the judge who had issued the mandate for his release! No sooner said than done; and, proceeding to the Judge's chambers,

the sergeant-at-arms seized the unsuspecting but offending Judge Lilly and dragged him to the Speaker's room. The Sheriff was their next victim, and, not long after, both these distinguished gentlemen were paraded, with unnecessary violence, through the public streets, in the midst of an excited and indignant mob of people, and confined in the house of the sergeant-at-arms. Meanwhile Dr. Kielley, the *jons et origo* of all this tempest in a teacup, took refuge in the house of a friend and so managed to lie hidden there until the distracted Governor, finding no other way out of the dilemma, cut the Gordian knot by summarily proroguing the Legislature. This, of course, set the captives temporarily at liberty.

But at the fall term of the Supreme Court Dr. Kielley's action against the Speaker of the Assembly *et al*, came up for adjudication before the new Chief Justice, Bourne. A plea of justification on the ground of privilege was put in by the defendant, Speaker Carson, and once more the battle was joined and the case was reserved for the decision of three judges of the Supreme Court. The first of these, Judge Lilly, was of the opinion that the plea of justification had not been made out, and consequently gave judgment for the plaintiff, Dr. Kielley. The other two judges decided for the defendants and the privileges of the House of Assembly were thus declared to be sustained.

Upon this fact being made public, a storm of indignation arose, not unmingled with alarm. The merchants of St. John's, in particular, not being specially favoured by the triumphant Assembly, viewed with considerable apprehension a judgment which might at any time place them at the mercy of a body so highly sensitive to offence. Dr. Kielley was, therefore, without much difficulty, induced to appeal from the adverse decision of the New-

foundland Supreme Court to Her Majesty in Privy Council, and Mr. Robinson, the undaunted young barrister who had previously defended him so valorously, now sailed for England to prosecute the appeal. Pedley's *History of Newfoundland* (page 408) says:

The case came on for hearing in January, 1841, Mr. Pemberton, Q.C., and Mr. Henderson for the appellant; Mr. M. D. Hill, Q.C., and Mr. Fleming for the respondents. The case was again re-argued on May 23rd, 1842, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lords Brougham, Denman, Cottenham, and Campbell, the Vice-Chancellor of England,¹ the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,² Mr. Justice Erskine, the Right Hon. Dr. Lushington, and Baron Parke. On January 11th, 1843, the last-named judge, by instruction from their lordships, rose to state the reasons for the advice they would give to Her Majesty to reverse the decision of the Court below. Of the House of Assembly he said: "They are a local legislature, with every power reasonably necessary for the proper exercise of their functions and duties; but they have not, what they have erroneously supposed themselves to possess, the same exclusive privileges which the ancient law of England has annexed to the House of Parliament." Therefore, "the judgment will be reversed." So important was this decision of the highest court in the realm, that it established a precedent in reference to all questions of like character which might arise in any part of the British colonies.

In 1841 Mr. Archibald was summoned to England as a witness before the House of Commons to give evidence in regard to the working of the Legislative Constitution of the colony. The enquiry into the matter by the British Parliament had been undertaken on account of the constant complaints laid before the Colonial Office by the Newfoundland Assembly in regard to the ever-increasing aggressiveness of the Council. It would seem to have been a duplication of the political situation in Nova Scotia, where for many years there was a perpetual conflict of opinion between the Council and the House, which was not ended until, by the granting to the Province of

¹ Lord Lyndhurst. ² Sir N. C. Tindal.

responsible government, the Council was shorn of much of its arbitrary powers.

In the minds of the statesmen of that day it was absolutely necessary, in granting to colonies the much coveted boon of self-government, to maintain, as far as possible, the customs and precedents of the good old British Constitution; and, with an inborn prejudice against innovations of any sort, and also with that well-known lack of imagination so characteristic of the British diplomatic attitude in regard to the widely different needs and conditions of colonial life, they no doubt felt that, in establishing the Council as a sort of check upon the probably abnormal and ill-considered legislation of the Lower House, they were working for the best interests of the Colony. We have already, in the *Kielley vs. Carson* case, had evidence that the Newfoundland House of Assembly took themselves and their responsibilities "*au grand sérieux*," and that they could and did, on occasion, spare no effort to maintain the dignity of their official position and to do battle for their rights.

It was a restless and a dangerous age. That dread word "Democracy," brought into prominence by the American crisis of 1776 and fostered by the socialistic doctrines of Jean Jacques Rousseau and others, during the French Revolution of 1793 had, like some malignant germ, infected all classes of people, and now threatened the very foundations of society. The agitation in England for reform, however, had not been fruitless; and, warned in a large measure by the growing power of the masses at home, the British Government lent a more favourable ear to the appeals of the Newfoundland Commons for a wider measure of self-government.

It is somewhat remarkable to note that as E. M. Archibald's father, the Hon. S. G. W. Archibald, during

the whole of the long period of his political career, had been the consistent advocate of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly as against the aggressiveness of the Council, so now,—comparatively early in the public career of his son,—he, too, was called upon to grapple with similar problems. Each of these men had been members of both branches of the Legislature, by virtue of the functions of their Crown appointments as Attorneys-General; thus they possessed a thorough knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of the rules governing the situation.

In the case of the Newfoundland Council the Home Government, evidently feeling that the time was not ripe for the more radical change of constitution which, some years later, was conceded to the island, decided upon a measure of compromise in bringing about an amalgamation of the Assembly with the Council. The plan for this amalgamated Legislature was prepared in England by Mr. Archibald at the request of the Government, and his suggestions were subsequently substantially carried out by Act of Parliament.

It was in this same year, 1841, that Mr. Archibald was again temporarily made Assistant Judge of the Supreme Court, and in November he received from the Crown his appointment as Attorney-General of Newfoundland, a post which he held until his retirement and departure from the island in 1855. As we have already seen, he had been, some time previously, selected for this post by Lord Glenelg. In 1842, he was elected Chief Clerk of the amalgamated Legislature, being then also Chief Clerk of the Supreme Court.

The new order of affairs brought with it a fresh crop of problems and difficulties; and the compromise, like other attempted compromises, gave satisfaction to none and was later found most disappointing to all. The New-

foundland House of Assembly, however, recognized that in endeavouring to meet the wishes of both parties and to further their just claims upon the Home Government, Mr. Archibald had done his utmost. They valued very highly his services to them, while Clerk of the Assembly; and upon his assuming the duties of his new position as Clerk of the amalgamated Legislature, they passed the following appreciative resolution, which they presented to him.

Resolved unanimously, that this House cannot separate without expressing its sense of the merits of Edward Mortimer Archibald, Clerk of this House, and of his claims on its regard. Educated under the especial care of his late lamented father, when Speaker of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, he arrived in this country at the period of the first introduction of a representative form of Government, and under his instructions the members of the first House of Assembly were initiated in a knowledge of those laws and rules so necessary for the guidance of deliberative bodies. From that time to the present period, with some slight interruption, he has filled the important situation of Clerk to the House of Assembly, in which office his unceasing industry, his great abilities and his obliging disposition have, even under circumstances of the greatest political excitement, invariably won the lasting esteem of every member of the House; and they therefore deem it a duty they owe to him to place on record this public acknowledgment, and to express a wish that services and merits such as these may be appreciated by his Sovereign and his country.

During his public service in Newfoundland Mr. Archibald was many times occupied with vexed questions arising out of matters in connection with French fishing rights, as established by the Treaty of Versailles of 1783. Disputes were constantly arising between the Newfoundland and the French fishermen in relation to the curing of their fish and the "shore rights" of the Frenchmen, which included, under the treaty, the right of erecting "flakes" for drying fish in certain parts of the island. Appeals to the Home Government resulted in Mr. Archibald being

sent for by the Colonial Office and employed by them in preparing certain modifications of the fishery treaties with France, so far as they related to Newfoundland and Labrador. In this task he was associated with Mr. Strachey, of the Colonial Office, and Sir Anthony Pevrier.

Mr. Archibald held strong views about reciprocal trade between the British North American Colonies and the United States. In this matter he was ahead of his times, as the idea of reciprocity was not looked upon with any favour by the commercial interests in the maritime colonies. His paper, strongly advocating reciprocal trade, prepared in 1849, was, if not the earliest, at least among the very earliest on the subject. It was widely read and discussed, and evidently bore some practical results, as we find that, in 1854, he was appointed a delegate from the Newfoundland Government to proceed to Washington to advise with and assist Lord Elgin in the effort to secure the adoption by the United States of a reciprocity treaty. In this regard, however, he unfortunately arrived too late upon the scene, the matter in hand having already been accomplished.

In 1854 he was a delegate from the Legislative Council of Newfoundland to represent to the Colonial Minister the views of that body in regard to a proposed redistribution of the representation of the Colony. Of this mission and the difficulties which beset it he writes to his wife as follows:

To Mrs. Archibald

LONDON, *July 20th, 1854.*

My dearest Wife:

We had a delightfully smooth passage but were greatly crowded, having 156 passengers. I was happy to have Mr. Brooking with me and made some other pleasant acquaintances.

I was up at three o'clock on Monday morning, and in town by

eleven, where I found Tom and Charles [his brothers] quite well, the latter uncommonly so; he had a room, he said, for me at Eastbourne Terrace, but I declined and went to Morley's Hotel, Trafalgar Square. After settling myself, I reported at the Colonial Office, and I am to have an interview with Sir George Grey and Mr. Peel at the earliest day they can give me one; but owing to the war [Crimean] and the bustle and close of the session, they are borne down with business and heartily wish Newfoundland was annexed to the United States or Russia, rather than have so much trouble with us! I can form no opinion yet of what Sir George will do or not do. I rather think he will not do anything and let us fight it out. Hoyles has put the matter very fairly and strongly before Sir George.

Tom is busy at the Assizes, coming up to town every other day, and is getting on very well. Charles, I have had an hour or two's conversation with; he seems in every way better than I have known him for years, but is still restless and eager for what I fear is mere speculation. He has lately been quite a *persona grata* (at least in his own estimate) with Lord Clarendon, and has published letters addressed to Lord Clarendon on the union of the British North American Colonies into a vice-royalty. Cleverly written, but which—as I told him—I lament to see published, as they will be sure, in Nova Scotia, to bring down disagreeable personal criticism. He is going out, I believe, to New York. He was at the Queen's last ball, and does not seem to realize the great change which has come over him, at least in some particulars....

Last evening I went with Hoyles [Judge Hugh Hoyles of Newfoundland] and Tom Grassie to the opera, Drury Lane, to hear *La Somnambula*, I was delighted with it; Sims Reeves, as Elvino, and Miss Bury, as Amina, were very fine. I shed tears until I was ashamed of myself at Amina's misfortunes and the touching sweetness of the music!

Strachey, of the Colonial Office, was delighted to see me again, as he had got the fisheries matter to the point in which of all things he needed my assistance, and I see I shall be put in harness again; but I don't intend to give him much of my company at the Colonial Office, beyond attending to the affairs of my delegation.

The result of my present mission will at least, I have no doubt, enable me to determine whether or not I am to remain in Newfoundland after the present year. I hope you are getting on comfortably and happily. It seems most unkind to you that all these onerous duties should fall on you alone.

I shall make my arrangements to go out August 19th, but until something is done at the Colonial Office and, indeed, until I am free, I cannot go from town for more than a day. Mr. Bennett went on immediately to Windsor, and comes to town on Monday. I want to go in company with him to the Crystal Palace....

The war seems to be the engrossing topic here, the enthusiasm is great but the cost is proportionate, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer is puzzled to provide for it, yet no one seems to heed the expense, provided Nicholas can only be well drubbed....

Four o'clock p.m., August 21st.

Nothing new to add, they are much pressed at the Colonial Office. I wish the interview were over, it keeps me waiting for a summons every four hours, and with this fine weather I should like to run out to Windsor or Woolwich.... Have just returned from a long interview with James Carmichael, President of the Submarine Lines of Telegraph, who is anxious to know all about our new company. Something may come out of it to my advantage, but this is only a possibility. I am to see him again on Monday....

The popular demand for an increase of responsibility in governing the country was now becoming more and more insistent. Although, so far as the Assembly was concerned, the members were elected by the people, and, notwithstanding the circumstance that the new arrangement for the amalgamation of the Council with the Assembly had shorn the Council of much of its arbitrary power, the fact remained that the Imperial or Home Government still retained in their own hands the right to appoint men of their own choosing to all the principal offices. In other words, while Newfoundland had attained to a form of representative government in the choice of men for the Lower House, it was still denied the right to choose its leaders and was, therefore, not responsible for the men who filled the higher offices in the Judiciary or for the officials of the Legislature.

In consequence, there was a constantly increasing agitation against the system of Imperial appointments,



EDWARD MORTIMER ARCHIBALD
Attorney-General of Newfoundland
From an Oil Painting by Constant Meyer, London, 1854

and a strong determination to place these offices only at the disposal of persons who were supported by a majority of the Lower House; the people demanding to the utmost the rights and privileges of Responsible Government. Meetings were held both at St. John's and all over the Island; and a strong resolution was prepared in the House of Assembly to be forwarded to the Home authorities. For some time all these demonstrations were unheeded and the matter was looked upon with disfavour by the powers in the Colonial Office and the English Parliament which, as late as 1852, declared "that they saw no reason for change."

At length even the Newfoundland House of Assembly itself, of which two-fifths were Crown nominees, reaffirmed the same principle, *viz.*, "that the Colony possessed a sufficient number of inhabitants, qualified by property, intelligence and ability for office and that the Government of the Colony should be conducted upon those general principles of constitutional freedom which were in force in neighbouring Colonies, irrespective of any sectarian distinctions, etc., etc."

Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and his immediate successor, Sir John Pakington, had hitherto declined to listen to these appeals, but the Duke of Newcastle, recently appointed to office, gave signs of yielding, and showed himself willing to listen to the representations of the delegates from the Newfoundland Parliament.

Prominent among these delegates, and appointed by the Council, was Mr. Archibald, who played no small part in bringing about these important political changes. Fully convinced that the country was justified in demanding the right to appoint its own officials, yet having himself been for twenty-two years an appointee of the Crown to various positions of trust and importance, it is a high

tribute to the estimation in which he was held by the people, no less than to his unfailing efforts for the public good, to his tact and his integrity that, on his retirement, he should have received the hearty thanks of the entire community, as conveyed by Governor Darling as well as by addresses from several public bodies and from the leading business men of St. John's.

At length the efforts of the delegates from the ancient colony were crowned with success, and not long afterwards Ker Bailie Hamilton, the Administrator at St. John's, was informed by the Colonial Office that their request was granted and that the Home Government was prepared to concede the application of the new system as soon as certain necessary conditions had been agreed to on the part of the Legislature of Newfoundland. The principal one of these was the indemnification of those officials who, by the change in question, might be summarily dismissed by the action of a majority of the Legislature. The new order of things, therefore, did not become operative until 1855, when Sir Charles Henry Darling was sent out as Governor.

Mr. Archibald, his mission in England accomplished, had been sent in 1854 to the United States as a delegate from the Legislative Council of Newfoundland, together with commissioners from the other provinces, for the purpose of advising with Lord Elgin in the negotiation of a reciprocity treaty, which, however, Lord Elgin had already completed.

On his return, via Halifax, he took passage for St. John's in a man-of-war, being anxious to get back to report on his mission to England. Hoping to make a swift voyage to St. John's, he found himself delayed by wind and fog, so that it was a whole fortnight before the ship finally arrived at her destination.

The following letter to his wife, who with their family was then residing in Halifax whither they had already moved in anticipation of his approaching departure from Newfoundland, describes his experiences on this belated trip.

To Mrs. Archibald

TREPASSEY, 10th May, 1855.

My dearest Wife:

Had any one declared to me when I left Halifax that I should still have been on my passage to Newfoundland, and that I had been destined to spend my forty-fifth birthday in Trepassey, I could not have conceived it possible, but here I am, thus far safely though long on my way, and trust to be in St. John's by Saturday night, although I have long since given up counting upon any particular time of arrival.

The depression of spirits which you will remember I felt on the day the *Osprey* left, must have been prophetic, and often since have I repeated and feared to apply to my own case the adage from Shakespeare:

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries."

I shall have much to talk to you about when I see you, about the incidents of this voyage, the longest I have had for sixteen years and longer than any I have ever had to or from Newfoundland, but as we are now safely at anchor and as I shall be hurried when I land, I may as well occupy a leisure hour in giving you an outline of our history since I left you. . . .

Well then, after leaving you, on that lovely Sunday morning, I found Capt. Purvis all ready to start at seven, when at that moment it was discovered *no hay* had been brought for the sheep¹

The assistant surgeon volunteered to go off and beat up the country markets, and returned at nine o'clock with some hay, and then we got under weigh. You did not seem to notice our passing, but this delay, and indeed everything, seemed to be ominous. We had two of the most lovely days I have ever experienced and then began to make

¹Ships at that time carried a variety of live stock for provision.

sure of reaching St. Pierre on Monday night or early Tuesday, and St. John's at latest on Thursday morning.

On Monday night, however, some little ice having been seen (of no importance whatever) Capt. Purvis lay still ten hours till the morning—a lovely calm clear night!—and hence all our subsequent troubles; nay, indeed, on the following day, Monday, a large baulk of timber being discovered, as a sort of *lark* they stopped more than an hour to get it in, and that one hour would, in all human probability, have been the means of our reaching St. John's this day week. For just as we saw, or fancied we saw, St. Pierre, a fog set in and we did not reach there until the day before yesterday. Tuesday afternoon having, after the fog, a gale of wind on the St. Peter's Banks and losing an anchor and cable just when we fancied ourselves creeping up on St. Pierre, we found ourselves fifty miles away at St. Lawrence in the Burin District. Here we were glad to anchor and rest for the night, and the next day steamed down to St. Pierre against a gale of westerly wind fair for St. John's; after remaining there a night and visiting the Governor and notabilities on shore, we left at daylight yesterday morning and were caught off here (Trepassey) last evening and night and this forenoon, with one of the fiercest gales of easterly wind I have ever been out in.

I spent a most anxious night and, after mistaking Cape Shott's for Trepassey, we had to beat back, or rather steam back, for seven hours against a gale *perfectly deafening*, and were most thankful to come to an anchor here at two o'clock to-day.

So much for a brief outline, the details I can only give you when I see you. Let me say, however, that, notwithstanding, I have had sore trials of patience and humiliation in the needlessly long voyage I have entailed upon myself and the vexation I have suffered; not alone on account of the absence of my services at St. John's where the Governor is daily looking for and needing me, but the still greater vexation of spending a fortnight at sea, uselessly, which I might have passed with you and my dear ones.

Still, among many and great mercies for which I have to be thankful to my Heavenly Father, I have to mention the great kindness I have received from Capt. Purvis and his officers, and that, if I really could have afforded the time to spend a fortnight at sea in a man-of-war in rough weather, I could not have better pleased myself had I made my own selection.

He, Capt. Purvis, certainly is not very intellectual, but a thorough good-humoured and gentlemanly fellow. He is like a brother

with his officers, and they are all like a set of brothers, I might say boys, discipline however being always strictly observed. Besides myself there were passengers in the gun-room, the American consul at St. Pierre, a Mr. Hughes, a gentlemanly, well informed Yankee, more than half French, and a little Bayonne merchant; and such a merry set of fellows as those gun-room officers I have never met with, but withal gentlemanly and simple. They were delighted to have the Frenchman and Yankee with them, and the latter not less so. I lamented leaving on Sunday, we had, however, at 10.30 o'clock a most respectable congregation assembled, when the Captain and I entered; and a service, very orderly and piously performed. You will be surprised when I tell you that, excepting the Psalms, all parts of the service that ought to be chanted were chanted, including the commencing verses "I will arise, etc.", and the responses to the Commandments in the Communion Service. The organ was a large sized accordion, and the *stoker* was leader of the choir. The boys and many of the ship's crew are practised at it twice or thrice a week, and at singing by the First Lieutenant, Hinckley, a very fine fellow. The Captain and I have messed alone, and I trust, if in no other particular, in health at least, the voyage served me. We dine at four, handsome service of silver; always commence with soup; and end with dessert, coffee and curaçao. In the evening a quiet rubber of whist with the two surgeons, who are the only players. The Captain is a married man, one boy. Really, I think he must begin to get tired of me, and as my appetite has sharpened amazingly, the sooner the better for him! The *Osprey* would report having seen us lying to off St. Peter's this day week. We hoped to have got in every day until our patience was nearly exhausted—gales of wind, etc., but so fine a sea boat or so un-seasick a vessel as this I never was on board of. With all that, I would rather be with old Corbin in a "pink" stern schooner, however;—one man-of-war cruise will last me for a life time!

Here comes the Captain with his Lieutenants, having been out fishing as soon as our anchor was down, and my paper is all expended. . . .

ST. JOHN'S, *Monday evening, 14th May.*

If you can read the foregoing written at Trepassey, it will save me the trouble of repetition, when every minute is in demand; and therefore, to resume my narrative, my dearest, let me say that we were detained all Friday at Trepassey with dense fog. In the evening I drank tea with the two surgeons at Mr. George Sims', who would have

us to go on shore, which we had great difficulty in accomplishing so dense was the fog. I was at times despondent at the prospect of so long a delay. Providentially it cleared up during the night, and at five o'clock I heard the joyful summons of all hands to weigh anchor, and a bright day and fair winds, but very cold with showers of snow, brought us to St. John's at 4.30 p.m., where folks were imagining all manner of mishaps to us. I landed at once with Capt. Purvis and found Job ready to receive me, and at once reported myself to the Governor, and although many things were awaiting my arrival, I was glad to find no serious inconvenience had resulted from my long voyage of a fortnight....

Let me, before going further, remove your suspense on the subject of Mr. Merrivale's letter, which was merely a formal acknowledgment of my application to Lord John Russell. I asked Mr. Darling to-day what Merrivale said about me, and he says that Merrivale, in speaking to him of me the day before he left town (13th April) expressed a high opinion of me and his desire and hope that I might soon receive a suitable judicial situation, leading him (Mr. D.) to believe that they would take an early opportunity of giving me something, but Mr. Darling says interest with Lord John Russell is very important and necessary. I think I can count on Blackwood and Merrivale, I do not therefore despair.

I had a long kind letter by this mail from Sir John Falkland, who strongly urges me to seek for the Attorney-Generalship at Gibraltar with £800 salary.

Indeed he says he will be glad soon to retire; but at all events Cortello, Attorney-General, wants much to retire, and will make a vacancy. I think I will send Falkland's letter to Tom in London, and let him call at the Colonial Office, as I do not like to be teasing them too much.

I have an idea, however, that Ceylon will yet be available, and from what Mr. Darling told me of the climate, etc., I should prefer it, if possible, or Mauritius.

The present difficulty is our *locale*, until something turns up at home. I trust by the next or succeeding mail I may have something from Blackwood, if not from the Colonial Office, to indicate a prospect at least of an appointment, and, therefore, (as Lizzie tells me you can have lodgings at Mrs. Fultz's) when you go there you may as well defer your intention of coming here from the 24th of May to the 8th of June, before when, by God's blessing, I trust my way may be made

clear to me. Meanwhile I give out here that your intention is to come in the last May or the first June boat....

Then again, as to remaining here, I am very averse to it, if I can be provided for elsewhere. I have determined to not take a judgeship here; if I remain it will be to practise or to hold some semi-professional employment. There has never been so short a seal fishery in my time and everything is dreadfully dull and depressed. There are few, if any, good vessels going home this season, and if I received any appointment which would take me to Europe, I would rather pay a little more and go in the steamer than make a double voyage by a Newfoundland vessel; and, again, if, with the success of Charles' diplomacy and the Iron Company's arrangements, we may yet go to the States, it will be unwise to move here, only to break up again most probably before winter and go westward; so that, weighing all things and asking God's guidance, it appears to me for the present that you should take lodgings with Mrs. Fultz until the 8th of June.

The Supreme Court opens on Monday, the 21st, the Assembly on the 22nd. The R. C.'s will certainly have a majority—not much—but, here is another hitch in this blessed tangle! No instructions have come out to divide and reconstitute the Council and it is a puzzle how responsible government can yet be inaugurated. The Government must meet the House with the *old Council*. The "Rads" won't say what they will do, and threaten troubles, loss of the Revenue Bill, etc. if they are longer kept out of their offices. We are trying to devise how we can resign and let them in, and I hope we may succeed, as I have no desire to be in the state of warfare longer. I hope that they can contrive it somehow.

Noad (Surveyor-General) has sold off, Crowdie (Colonial Secretary) sells next week; I hardly know how we will fare. I can do nothing with private affairs till this responsible government is fairly introduced and my hands are free, another fortnight hence.

Among other mercies for which I have to be thankful has been the escaping of many disagreeables during my absence. Robinson called on me yesterday, and to-day sent me his version of the controversy with Mr. Hamilton about the Councillorship! The Darlings have hardly seen the sun since they came, they are run down with visitors, especially those of the teachers, gentry and nobility....

I am so glad to have my dear Frankie's likeness; when the mail goes I will attend to the graves, etc., etc. The weather is dreadfully cold here, I have done and will do nothing to the garden as yet. I

have nice letters from the children, but if I have not time to write to them you must read them parts of this.

Enough for the present, with my fondest love and prayers.

Your devoted Husband,

E. M. ARCHIBALD.

One week later, after his arrival at St. John's, he wrote to his wife an account of the inauguration of the new *régime* of responsible government, and the ceremonies in connection with this auspicious event, which took place in May, 1855. Its inception was regarded as an event of great importance, not alone in the Colony itself, but in the Mother-country and neighbouring colonies; while a clever cartoon in *Punch* gave a wide-spread publicity to the proceedings of the first Session of the new Legislature. The cartoon represented an assembly of Newfoundland dogs, the Speaker's chair being occupied by an especially large and imposing canine of that species, in the act of putting the motion to the House, in the following terms: "As many as are in favour of this motion will say '*Bow*'—contrary minded '*Wow*'—the '*Bows*' have it!"

We are inclined to think that some, at least, of the newly installed members of the Newfoundland House might not have altogether relished this apt but not too complimentary witticism at their expense!

Mr. Archibald's account of proceedings was as follows:

To Mrs. Archibald

ST. JOHN'S, May 26th, 1855.

My dear Wife:

I ought to have much to tell you relating to the inauguration of the Government and the proceedings of the last fortnight. Never have I been so busily occupied, and am only now beginning to feel a little leisure; but still have my hands full with public business for another week. Let me acquaint you, however, that at the present writing, and for the last twenty-four hours, I am no longer Her Majesty's servant, but plain Mr. E. M. Archibald, barrister-at-law and Q.C.

When I last wrote, I think I mentioned the difficulties (of which some new one seems always opposing itself to the new system) from the absence of the new Royal instructions, and the Governor's power to modify the Council being restricted to the discretion given under the old instructions, which allow a Council of but seven, of whom the Attorney-General and Secretary must be members—while under the new regime these functionaries must be in the Assemblies. This puzzle required several days to be solved, which was at last arrived at by Crowdy, Noad and myself tendering our resignations, whenever the Governor chose to accept them. It was then understood that immediately upon the meeting of the House, the strength of parties being tested, our resignation should be accepted, and the new successors appointed. But the new Attorney-General and Secretary not to take their seats in Council.

Meantime, preparations were made for the opening of the Session on Tuesday last, and cards for the Queen's Birthday Dinner at Government House were issued to the Heads of Departments only; *i.e.*, excluding members of the Assembly, even the new official Councillors, O'Brien, Grieve, and Job, at which these latter have been greatly disgusted, it being, however, uncertain up to four o'clock on the 24th, whether Crowdy and myself, or our successors, should avail ourselves of the invitations, or endorse them over to our successors!

Meantime, the meetings of the Liberals and reports of the organizations of the new Cabinet, etc., were very amusing. The *Newfoundlander* is keeping up its virulent and lying attacks on me, in particular, all of which I heed not, and they have given me no concern.

Of the Governor (Sir Charles Darling) I saw from day to day a great deal, and like him much; he is frank, manly, firm, and with much tact and good sense. He felt, of course, that in carrying out the new system, he must be guided, in a great measure, by the views and feelings of the party having the majority in the Assembly; but these thought and asserted they cared not for the Governor and would have everything their own way, whether he chose or not! I think they have learned by this time that he is not a man to be trifled with and, while he will give the new ministry all legitimate scope, he will have a mind of his own whether it is fit he should use it.

Tuesday was a lovely day and of course we had an unusual assemblage to witness the opening. There were many of the fair sex. Mrs. Tobin was the only lady near Mrs. Darling. Very few of our lady friends were there. Shea was chosen Speaker and the Governor,

EDWARD MORTIMER ARCHIBALD

in a stentorian voice, delivered a speech which, under all circumstances, was a capital one; a good deal in the Sir John Harvey style. But he was wise in sinking bygones and looking to the future as bright and promising. I will send you a paper with the proceedings in the Assembly resulting in the most unconstitutional dictation to the Governor, as to whom he should consult in forming the Ministry.

These even escaped Hoyles' notice. All next day Mr. Little was walking about in great wonderment that he had not been sent for; but, between ourselves, the Governor had prepared a neat, still cutting message, which was the only way he would have taken notice of their irregular proceedings and would have curbed their arrogance and taught them better manners.

Kent called and found out the *faux pas* and they managed to smooth it over and induced the Governor not to send the message, which is greatly to be regretted, as it would have brought them to their senses; and, as it is, they will take care how they trespass on his prerogative again.

After great choppings and changings, and many meetings among themselves, they have at last decided their ministry, as you will see by the papers. Tobin and Rockford were yesterday sworn into Council (Emmerson not being here yet) in place of Crowdy, Noad and myself. The Government not being able to exceed seven, and the Commissions to the new Attorney-General, Treasurer and Secretary, etc., although made out, have not yet been signed or sealed; the offices in the meantime are vacant, as the new Instructions are expected by the mail, when all can be regularly completed.

The most sensible course would, indeed, have been to let matters remain *in statu quo* until the new Instructions come; and, indeed, I doubt if they be here for five or six weeks, for the Revenue Bill being passed to-day, a new theory has been started, that it is not legally passed, owing to the illegal, or rather, insufficient, composition of the Council, and the jumble into which the new party have thrown the public office. I think there is nothing in the objection but it points out to the Governor that the difficulty could have been entirely obviated by Crowdy and myself remaining in the Council till the Revenue Bill was passed.

Poor Robinson is dreadfully chagrined and mortified, that he is not put in the Council. After being recommended, nay, pledged for a seat by Mr. Hamilton,¹ and indeed on the faith of the Government. If the Rads. can have their own way, they won't let him in at all; but I

¹Mr. Ker Bailie Hamilton, the late Acting Governor.

am certain he will be named when the Council is extended. But what an honour to covet! and to be colleagues of Tobin, Emmerson and Rockford, and gracious knows who by and by!

I wonder that Job and Grieve did not resign yesterday; but it is surprising how tenacious they are of the honour.

As to retaining the rank, I think it is very probable that we official members will retain it—but the title, anywhere or elsewhere, will be more cumbrous and ostentatious than useful.

The Queen's Birthday Dinner was one of the handsomest that I have seen at Government House for many a year. They have, I am happy to say, some servants in decent liveries; the new furniture in the drawing room really looks very handsome, and there is more elegance and comfort about the whole establishment than I have seen for many a day. They have had little, or no, private company as yet. So much for political gossip, which will do at present.

Being released from further duty and responsibility, all things considered, I can't say I regret parting with my office.

Now you will want to know at the earliest moment, and to be relieved of anxiety as to our future in this life; as I have said, I hope to speak more decidedly before closing this. In the meantime I may say first that, under no circumstances, if I could have it (which is exceedingly doubtful at present), would I take a judgeship. They talk already of starting one at Harbour Grace, and another at Placentia.

Gracious knows what changes they may make! and then the tyranny of their rule! Any acting judgeship in Des Barres' place is out of the question in any event until November—as he cannot be relieved until then—and I know not how they might construe it, as affecting my pension. This is, therefore, out of the question; but I could, by commencing practice, add three or four hundred pounds to my pension, I think. And this indeed is, if I decide on remaining in this country, the only independent and sensible course for me to pursue. But there are many considerations daily pressing on me which as yet make me very unwilling to fix myself down here, and these arise principally out of the state of our society, at present and prospective, and the miserably impoverished condition of the country.

As to society—on all sides there is nothing but lamentation on the emigration! It would be, in many respects for us, most uncomfortable.... Still there would be a few firm and agreeable friends, and a residence here for a year may yet be the most prudent course for me to adopt. As to houses—garrets I could not get! The Nicols

have taken the C. P. old house; R. Tilly, Mr. Noad's; but I think I could get Des Barres' at moderate terms and will know before I close this what he expects. I could not afford to live on in this house, independent of the rent. It is an expensive establishment to keep up. Now this is the only course which I think advisable so far as relates to a removal from Newfoundland. I hope to hear by the coming mail, or the one following, something indicative of an appointment or the prospect of an appointment, from the Colonial Office. There are to be two new Puisne Judges (the Governor tells me) at the Cape; something may grow out of it. With my real and seeming anxiety about our future, however, I think my dear Kate, that I am enabled to trust more than heretofore to that Gracious Providence who never fails them that trust in Him, but I pray that He may direct me; lest in seeking too eagerly any particular thing, I may, in having my wishes gratified, be punished for my want of faith, and my too great anxiety about the things of this world....

Monday morning, May 28th.

The steamer is not yet signalled. Will write a few lines before I rush into business. Yesterday I thought often of you all. I was at the Sacrament both yesterday and previous Sunday. These are blessed times of grace and refreshment which I pray may be more and more extended and renewed to me and improve to the growth of my soul in grace. You ask about my class. I take pleasure in trying to teach and instruct them, and some of them, I think, are grateful for it. The children are all much pleased with the papers which Mr. Wood circulates among them. On Sunday week we had sixty children in the school....

The Bishop will not be here until the 15th of June. Mr. Wood told me last evening he has put down my name for a berth in the *Sir A. Peele*. It is but adding one more to the probabilities or rather the improbabilities which already serve for our speculation.

Had the Jobs not taken their passage in this steamer, I think they would have decided to go in this vessel, it is a rare chance. So few vessels are going home this year that are desirable.

There will be hundreds, nay thousands, of poor people here this year who will not get their supplies. How they are to shift, I know not. There is a large distribution of seed potatoes being made and very much depends on the potato crop this year. But through the town, shops and stores are everywhere closed, business is so dull. Beef at ten pence,

mutton one shilling, butter at seventeen shillings and bread whatever the baker chooses to ask.

Tuesday afternoon.

The steamer was signalled at three o'clock, and while she was coming I walked up to Des Barres' to look at his house and see when I could get it, and what he might expect for his house. I walked back briskly, in time to greet Bennett, who gave me your welcome letter, which I have read four times, notwithstanding you think it so long. Mr. Bennett tells me you are looking very well, and both from his report and your letter I am delighted to find you in such good spirits and with so much energy.

I must say I am glad you have jumped to the conclusion of going to Truro—and though I feel deeply for you, in the trouble and worry you will have in getting there, yet I feel satisfied it will be all for the best. I long to be there with you, and fondly picture to myself the pleasure of a day's fishing in that dear old river. . . .

Acting on the decision with which your letter inspired me, I quickly arranged with the Jobs for a joint sale, which is to come off on Thursday and Friday of next week, the seventh and eighth, and will be advertised to-morrow, two days before the Governor's sale. It is, to be sure, a bad time to sell, people are so poor, but matters will not be better in this respect for many a long day to come. I wish the Bishop were here, as I think he would take some of the furniture, to which I will at all events fix a limit, and not let it be sacrificed. On Saturday we are to have a grand overhaul, preparatory to making out the catalogue. . . .

I had a very kind letter from Strachey by this mail, who says I may be sure he and Blackwood will do all in their power for me. A Mr. Lashington got Corfu, on the ground of his speaking Greek. Strachey says that the sudden retirement of Herbert and consequent delay in the appointment beat out a number of the competitors, and thus it was I failed—just as I supposed. He tells me there is a general revision going on in the whole civic establishment at Ceylon and that, meantime, the Puisne Judgeship which still remains vacant, cannot with propriety be filled up, and the Report may either recommend an increase or decrease of the Judgeships, it is uncertain which. When this will be completed, I cannot learn, but he says there is great competition for these offices, and great interest required to be made to secure them. Now it still occurs to me that it may be worth my while to carry out my project of going Home this year and pushing my inter-

ests at the Colonial Office—since, if my claims grow stale, they will by and by be unheeded. I will be guided by what I may hear from Charles [his brother] by next mail, and more particularly by your judgment and opinion, which I ask you to give me. If I don't go Home, I shall not join you in Truro before the first, possibly the middle, of July as I would then stay to make a clear settlement here. If I go, it will be (D.V.) on the 13th or 14th of June. I would not remain in England more than a fortnight, unless there was absolute necessity, and then go out to Halifax in the second cabin of the steamer. This ship, the *Sir A. Peele*, will land us at Cowes or Dover. In London, I could manage very economically and think fifty pounds currency would cover the whole expense.

The Crowdys, the Noads, and the whole Brady family and several others go—a numerous party; among others May Robinson to Mrs. Spearman. It is only because I think it may be of importance to me to be in Downing Street, that I contemplate what is otherwise anything but agreeable to me, for as my ties to this place are loosening, I long to be with you at Truro, and I am desirous not to lose any of the pleasure of our stay there, if (as in God's good Providence I trust) it be His will we should have pleasure there.

Now there is one *dernier resort*, that I cannot and ought not to altogether abandon, and that is the possible return to practice here; there is a good field and I intend to say that it is not impossible that I shall come back with my family and settle down to practice, but that meantime my arrangements are uncertain. It may be necessary to come to this, and I must speak with some reserve and not cut off this retreat. Do you not think so?

In all my plans, or rather speculations, you see I put aside Charles' project for my pension. I do earnestly trust this news may be realized¹ for more reasons than one; but I dare not allow myself to trust to them—so often have I been disappointed. The month of September will certainly disclose what prospects of pension his plans may realize, but meantime I ought not to neglect my interest and claims at the Colonial Office. I will write Sir Gaspard le Marchant to send home for me a testimonial and stir up Admiral Prescott, as well as Sir Thomas Cochrane....

I am very sorry, as I am sure you will be, that you will not see the Jobs at Halifax. Do write them and thank them for all their kind-

¹It was; and to the day of his death he enjoyed a pension of three hundred pounds a year for his twenty-four years' service in Newfoundland.



THE TOWN AND HARBOUR OF ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND, 1834
From an Old Engraving by W. Eagar

ness to me. Nothing can exceed it. I may possibly go up with them, if I do not go Home, but it would be more to my advantage to remain another two weeks. After that, there will be nothing in the law way of any importance doing until October, and I might as well be anywhere else but here.

I notice that you say in your letter by the *Victoria* about dear Brenton¹; I, too, am most anxious that he should be a clergyman, and if he is willing I think we must transfer him to Windsor [King's College] by and by.

There is sad, sad poverty here, and in prospect, for many who are lamenting the absence of so many old friends. . . .

I have told no one here about Corfu, who knew anything of my expecting something.

It is doubtless all for the best, let us confide all to our Gracious and Beneficent Father.

I am too anxious, too worldly minded, and yet I am not so much so, I believe, as my letter would indicate. But this is the only time I have for talking these matters over with you.

Poor Robinson is again disappointed. He sent me his fierce correspondence with Mr. Hamilton, and to-day he showed me his correspondence with Mr. Darling who declined to act upon Mr. Hamilton's "instructions."

It is really very unfair to Robinson, he ought to have gone into the Assembly, but he will, I think, be in the Council yet.

E. M. A.

In the year 1855, following the concession to Newfoundland of responsible government, he retired from the office of Attorney-General on a pension, receiving the thanks of Her Majesty's Government as expressed in the following letter from Governor Darling:

From Governor Darling

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

ST. JOHN'S, 25th May, 1855.

Gentlemen,

In acknowledging your letter² of the 25th instant, I beg to re-

¹His eldest son who was at school at Horton, N.S.

²Letter of resignation to enable the new officials to be appointed. No instructions having been received from England these three gentlemen voluntarily resigned from the Council.

peat the assurance which I have already orally given to each of you individually, that I am fully sensible of the spirit so becoming to Officers of your high standing and long established reputation in Her Majesty's Services, in which you have placed the resignations of your offices at my disposal.

The establishment of the Responsible Government has now rendered it my duty to avail myself of your offer, and in intimating to you accordingly that I have accepted your resignation, I have pleasure in recording the sense of the value of your services in the executive offices you have held, which I know to be entertained by Her Majesty's Government.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient,
humble servant.

C. H. DARLING,

Administrator.

To the Honourables,

E. M. ARCHIBALD, *Attorney-General.*

JAMES CROWDY, *Colonial Secretary.*

JOSEPH NOAD, *Surveyor-General.*

CHAPTER V

LAST DAYS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

IT has already been noted that the inhabitants of St. John's were somewhat partial to a certain amount of formality in the performance of public functions. Something of this spirit also entered into the social life of the town, at all events during the earlier years of Mr. Archibald's residence there. The presence of the military and naval element and the fact that nearly all of the functionaries were appointed by the Crown gave to what might be termed the élite of St. John's a certain claim to distinction.

There was a good deal of gaiety, and an abundance of that whole-hearted hospitality for which the city and colony have ever been rightly distinguished. Occasionally, though at long intervals, Royalty honoured them with a visit, the first of these occasions being the arrival in St. John's on August 9th, 1845, of Prince Henry of the Netherlands, with his suite. The Governor, Sir John Harvey, and the citizens received him most cordially and all orders of the inhabitants, as well as the military and naval officers, united to make his visit of a fortnight as pleasant as possible.

The following summer, 1846, brought with it the dread visitation of the Great Fire of St. John's. In this terrible calamity more than two thousand houses and nearly all the public buildings, banks, and Post Offices, were destroyed; and, between nine o'clock in the morning and

sunset, twelve thousand persons were rendered homeless. The financial loss exceeded one million sterling. By great good fortune the residence of Mr. Archibald was among those untouched by the conflagration. He, with his family and household, worked hard to save the effects of others and to offer them a temporary shelter. Among other valuables deposited in his hands were the books, securities, and much of the specie of one of the banks, which were afterwards transferred to Government House. The citizens of St. John's showed a splendid spirit in the way in which they undertook the rebuilding of their city, and out of the ashes of the former town arose a better planned and higher type of city.

Mr. Archibald, and his family, were constant and devout attendants at the Church of England and their children were baptized and confirmed in that Communion. In all his dealings, public and private, Mr. Archibald was ever actuated by a deep and abiding sense of religious duty; his aims were sincere and his gentle, unselfish and self-sacrificing disposition endeared him to everyone who came within his sphere of influence. In the family circle he was a devoted and attached husband and father, taking an interest alike in the education and in the recreation of his children, who returned his affection with an almost adoring devotion. A tireless worker through the week, he yet devoted part of every Sunday to the then novel institution of the Sunday School, having a large class of boys to instruct. He also found time, amid the multitudinous duties of his position, to arrange and publish a *Digest of the Laws of Newfoundland*, which is still a valuable book of reference. The establishment of two institutions in particular, that of the St. John's Library and of the Mechanics' Institute, owed much of their success to the efforts of Mr. Archibald, who took a deep

and lasting interest in them and served for many years as President of each.

The closing years of his residence at St. John's were made memorable by the events and the legislation which led up to the establishment of the greatest feat of the nineteenth century—the laying of the Atlantic telegraph cable. The part which was played by Mr. Archibald in bringing about the initial steps leading up to the consummation of this enterprise, so far as the Colony of Newfoundland was concerned, and his subsequent life-long friendship for and association with the two men who did most to make it an accomplished fact—Mr. Frederick Newton Gisborne, the English electrician and engineer, and the more widely known American promotor of the great enterprise, Mr. Cyrus W. Field, of New York—may fittingly serve to bring to a close the sketch of his activities during the quarter century which he passed in the Island of Newfoundland, while a few words on the beginnings of the enterprise may not be out of place.

Professor Morse, in 1843, in a letter to the Secretary of the United States, detailing the results of some experiments with a magnetic telegraph between Washington and Baltimore, writes as follows:

The practical inference from this is that telegraphic communication on the electric-magnetic plan may with certainty be established across the Atlantic Ocean. Startling as this may seem now, I am confident that the time will come when this project will be realized.

To demonstrate the practicability of this prophecy, he stretched a submarine cable from Castle Garden in New York to Governor's Island in the harbour, thus establishing the fact that electric communication could be effected under water. The first successful and practical electric cable which really worked was that laid in 1851 to connect with Dover and Calais across the English Channel.

To operate this line a concession had been obtained from the French Government, but the scheme was regarded in general as being purely chimerical, the Press in particular decrying it as a gigantic swindle. The London *Times* going so far as to pronounce it "a visionary and utterly impracticable swindle." In fact after a few brief hours of triumph, communication was abruptly stopped and not for some time afterwards was it found that a fisherman, evidently of an investigating turn of mind, happening to bring up part of the cable in his trawl, cut off a piece which he carried in triumph to Boulogne and there exhibited it as a very rare seaweed or kelp, with its centre filled with gold! Though unsuccessful in his search for more of this precious kelp, he had succeeded in effectually destroying the cable.

The continent of Europe had twelve miles of submarine cable laid before the attention of the United States was directed to the uses of such forms of telegraphy. It is said that the credit of inaugurating the first step towards laying a trans-Atlantic cable can be claimed by the British North American Province of Newfoundland, and there is no doubt that the credit of laying the first submarine cable belongs to F. N. Gisborne, an English engineer then employed in constructing a telegraph line from Montreal to Moncton, N.B., to connect with Nova Scotia lines. Mr. Gisborne undertook the formation of a company for the purpose of facilitating telegraphic communication between Europe and the United States. After much difficulty he succeeded in forming the company and, in 1852, in getting an Act passed by the Legislature of Newfoundland conferring upon the company certain important privileges in event of the completion of the project in Newfoundland. In this projected enterprise he received the enthusiastic support and assistance of At-



H.M.S. "AGAMEMNON" LAYING FIRST ATLANTIC CABLE, 1859
From The Story of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable, by W. H. Russell
Illustrated by Drawings by R. Dudley



THE OLD FRIGATE ALONGSIDE THE "GREAT EASTERN," 1865
From a Drawing by R. Dudley

torney-General Archibald, who from the very first was a firm believer in its ultimate success. A great deal of interest was taken in Mr. Gisborne's projected scheme by the people of St. John's; the matter was widely discussed; many, of course, looking upon it as utterly impracticable. A lecture was given at the Mechanics' Institute by Mr. Gisborne to a large and intensely interested audience, at which Mr. Archibald presided; and at this lecture, by means of wires brought into the building, telegraphic messages between St. John's and Carbonear were actually sent and received. To the majority of those present at this meeting, this demonstration of the power of electric telegraphy, so commonplace to us of this generation, appeared to be the work of magic and most uncanny. It would seem that Mr. Gisborne had no thought then of spanning the Atlantic Ocean with a cable; his plan being to connect Newfoundland with the coast of Maine by way of Cape Breton, and thence to run a line of steamers from St. John's to Galway, so as to shorten the time of sending and receiving news between New York and Europe. It remained for the brilliant and active brain of Cyrus W. Field, of New York, to whom Mr. Gisborne imparted his plans, to conceive the idea of laying a cable across the bed of the Atlantic Ocean. Always practical when most visionary, the clear mind of Mr. Field could not be satisfied until, on the very night of his interview with Mr. Gisborne, before he retired to rest, he had written to the two experts, Lieut. Maury, the great authority on the physical geography of the sea, and Professor Morse, the inventor of the electric telegraph,—to enquire of the one whether he considered the laying of a cable across the Atlantic practicable; and of the other, whether he believed it possible to send an electric current through a wire for a distance of over two thousand miles. Mr.

Maury's answer to these queries, as contained in a special report to the Secretary of the United States Navy is intensely interesting, and gave little doubt that he considered it perfectly possible to lay such a submarine cable. Professor Morse, who as early as 1843 had expressed his conviction that a magnetic current could be transmitted across the ocean, sent an enthusiastic reply to Mr. Field's enquiry, and not long afterwards a company was formed with branches in both England and America, under the name of the "New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company."¹

The rights of the Newfoundland company, previously acquired by Mr. Gisborne, which, owing to serious financial difficulties had been inoperative for some time, were purchased by Mr. Field; the Government of Newfoundland granting to the newly established company what practically amounted to a monopoly.

It is worthy of notice that, throughout all the varied vicissitudes and changing fortunes of the early history of the Atlantic Cable, Mr. Archibald never lost faith in the ultimate success of the enterprise. He thus alludes to it in a letter to his wife, written from London in 1853, when he was there in connection with the delegation asking for responsible government: "I have just returned from a long interview with James Carmichael, President of the submarine lines of telegraph, who is anxious to know all about our new company. Something may come out of it to my advantage, but this is only a possibility."

One of his latest efforts as Attorney-General of the Colony was his advocacy and support of the Bill which granted to this newly formed New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company the exclusive privilege

¹Peter Cooper, the New York philanthropist, was the first and only President of this company.

for fifty years of landing cables on Newfoundland and Labrador, embracing a coastline southwards towards Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton and the State of Maine; and westwards to the entrance of Hudson Straits. Besides these concessions, the Company also acquired a grant of fifty square miles of land on the completion of the telegraph to Cape Breton, and a similar concession of an additional fifty square miles when the cable was laid between Ireland and Newfoundland; a guarantee of interest for twenty years at five per cent. on £50,000, a grant of £5,000 in cash towards building a road along the line of telegraph, as well as remission of duties on the importation of all wires and materials for the use of the Company.

It is, of course, a matter of history now that on the 5th of August, 1858, the *Niagara* anchored in Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, landed the shore end of the cable, and one hour later received a signal across the Atlantic that the *Agamemnon* had, by landing the other end, made the circuit complete. The joyful news was at once telegraphed to the New York Press by Mr. Field and the intelligence flew all over the Union, where it was received with the most extraordinary manifestations of delight.

On the 18th of August the Directors in England sent the following message to their brethren in America and Europe:

Europe and America are united by telegraphic communication. Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will towards men.

Congratulatory messages were also exchanged between Queen Victoria and the President of the United States, as follows:

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON.

The Queen desires to congratulate the President upon the suc-

cessful completion of this great international work, in which the Queen has taken the deepest interest.

The Queen is convinced that the President will join with her in fervently hoping that the Electric Cable which now connects Great Britain with the United States will prove an additional link between the nations whose friendship is founded upon their common interest and reciprocal esteem.

The Queen has much pleasure in communicating with the President, and renewing to him her wishes for the prosperity of the United States.

The reply of the President was as follows:

WASHINGTON CITY,

August 16, 1856.

TO HER MAJESTY VICTORIA, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The President cordially reciprocates the congratulations of Her Majesty the Queen on the success of the great international enterprise accomplished by the skill, science and indomitable energy of the two countries. It is a triumph more glorious, because far more useful to mankind, than was ever won by conqueror on the field of battle.

May the Atlantic Telegraph, under the blessing of Heaven, prove to be a bond of perpetual peace and friendship between the kindred nations, and an instrument destined by Divine Providence to diffuse religion, civilization, liberty and law throughout the world. In this view will not all nations of Christendom spontaneously unite in the declaration that it shall be forever neutral, and that its communications shall be held sacred in passing to their places of destination, even in the midst of hostilities?

JAMES BUCHANAN

The time of transmission of these messages was twenty-two minutes. All went well until September 6th, when it was announced that no messages had been received by *The Times*, London, for three days. The cable had, however, justified its shortlived existence, for four hundred messages had been sent over it. One of these from London to Halifax, directing that the 62nd Regiment was not to return to England, was the means of saving the country an expenditure of £50,000.

The new prospectus of the Company was issued in 1862. At that time E. M. Archibald had been for five years the Representative of Her Britannic Majesty at New York. That his interest in the undertaking was unabated is shown by the fact that his name appears among the list of directors in the New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company, no doubt as an honorary director, representing the English interests there; in company with such well known men as Peter Cooper, the founder of the Cooper Institute, William E. Dodge, the philanthropist and merchant prince, Cyrus W. Field, the father of the Atlantic Cable, Wilson G. Hunt and A. A. Low, President of the Chamber of Commerce, Howard Potter, and other well known citizens of New York.

Mr. Archibald, when British Consul at New York, gives an illuminating account of Newfoundland's part in the trans-Atlantic cable project, in the following letter to Henry M. Field, who afterwards wrote the history of the Atlantic telegraph:

It was during the winter of 1849-50, that Mr. Gisborne, who had been, as an engineer, engaged in extending the electric telegraph through Lower Canada and New Brunswick to Halifax, Nova Scotia, conceived the project of a telegraph to connect St. John's, the most easterly port of America, with the main continent. The importance of the geographical position of Newfoundland, in the event of a telegraph ever being carried across the Atlantic, was about the same time promulgated by Dr. Mullock, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Newfoundland, in a St. John's newspaper.

In the spring of the following year (1851), Mr. Gisborne visited Newfoundland, appeared before the Legislature, then in session, and explained the details of his plan, which was an overland line from St. John's to Cape Ray, nearly four hundred miles in length, and (the submarine cable between Dover and Calais not having then been laid) a communication between Cape Ray and Cape Breton by steamer and carrier-pigeons, eventually, it was hoped, by a submarine cable across the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The Legislature encouraged the project,

granted £500 sterling to enable Mr. Gisborne to make an exploratory survey of the proposed line to Cape Ray, and passed an Act authorizing its construction, with certain privileges, and the appointment of commissioners for the purpose of carrying it out. Upon this, Mr. Gisborne, who was then the chief officer of the Nova Scotia Telegraph Company returned to that province, resigned his situation, and devoted himself to the project of the Newfoundland telegraph. Having organized a local company for the purpose of constructing the first telegraph line in the island, from St. John's to Carbonear, a distance of sixty miles, he, on the fourth of September, set out upon the arduous expedition of a survey of the proposed line to Cape Ray, which occupied upward of three months, during which time himself and his party suffered severe privations, and narrowly escaped starvation, having to traverse the most rugged and hitherto unexplored part of the island. On his return, having reported to the Legislature favourably on the project, and furnished estimates of the cost, he determined to proceed to New York, to obtain assistance to carry it out. . . . Mr. Gisborne returned to St. John's in the spring of 1852, when, at his instance, an Act, incorporating himself (his being the only name mentioned in it) and such others as might become shareholders in a company, to be called the Newfoundland Electric Telegraph Company, was passed, granting an exclusive right to erect telegraphs in Newfoundland for thirty years, with certain concessions of land, by way of encouragement, to be granted upon the completion of the telegraph from St. John's to Cape Ray. Mr. Gisborne then returned to New York, where he organized, under this charter, a company, of which Horace B. Tebbets and Darius B. Holbrook were prominent members, made his financial arrangements with them, and proceeded to England to contract for the cable from Cape Ray to Prince Edward Island, and from thence to the mainland. Returning in the autumn, he proceeded in a small steamer, in the month of November of that year, 1852, to stretch the first submarine cable, of any length, in America, across the Northumberland Strait from Prince Edward Island to New Brunswick, which cable, however, was shortly afterward broken, and a new one was subsequently laid down by the New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company. In the spring of the following year, 1853, Mr. Gisborne set vigorously to work to complete his favourite project of the line (which he intended should be chiefly underground) from St. John's to Cape Ray. He had constructed some thirty or forty miles of road, and was proceeding with every prospect of success, when, most unexpectedly, those of the

company who were to furnish the needful funds dishonoured his bills, and brought his operations to a sudden termination. He and the creditors of the company were for several months buoyed up with promises of forthcoming means from his New York allies, which promises were finally entirely unfulfilled; and Gisborne, being the only ostensible party, was sued and prosecuted on all sides, stripped of his whole property, and himself arrested to answer the claims of the creditors of the company. He cheerfully and honourably gave up everything he possessed, and did his utmost to relieve the severe distress in which the poor labourers on the line had been involved.

Mr. Archibald now felt that his work in Newfoundland was practically at an end. For twenty-three years he had been an active and useful and withal an honoured citizen of St. John's. As will be seen by the foregoing summary of his valuable services to the community and to the Province as a whole, he had placed at their disposal all the talent, the legal acumen, and the calm and dispassionate judgment for which he was justly renowned. During several acute crises in public affairs which occurred in the early part of his stay in the island, he had by his wise counsels of moderation, tided the Province over situations in its political history which were, to say the least, both difficult and alarming. Revered and respected for his undoubted ability and great mental gifts, he was, no less, greatly esteemed and beloved by all who in any way came under the spell of his attractive personality. Modest and unassuming almost to a fault, he was always ready to emphasize and give credit to the good qualities of others. Generous and kindly, amiable and charitable, he enjoyed the confidence and affection of all who knew him.¹

¹Complimentary addresses from members of the Chamber of Commerce, Judges and members of the Bar, as also from the officers of the St. John's Library, and the Mechanic's Institute were presented to Mr. Archibald upon his departure from the Colony.

With the address from the St. John's Library was presented a handsome sum of money wherewith to purchase for himself on their behalf a solid silver tea and coffee service, with tray to match. This service was left to me as an heirloom to be handed down in my family.
E.J.A

But to sever his connection with a community whose interests and whose welfare had been so closely bound up with his own, was not an easy matter or one to be treated lightly. The friendships and the associations of well nigh a quarter of a century were difficult to dissolve; not to speak of the natural reluctance to relinquish an assured and well remunerated position for the uncertainty of building up and establishing a precarious law practice in his native Province. It is little wonder that, in his letters to his wife he should confide to her his perplexities and anxieties as to their future prospects, and that he should have made every effort, through the persuasions of influential friends in England,—men who for years had known of his abilities and of his faithful and untiring work for Newfoundland,—to obtain from the Crown the appointment to some post that should assure to him the recognition which he and others felt to be but his due, and which should carry with it at least a modest competence. It is thus that we find him alluding to two possible judicial appointments, the one as Puisne Judge at Corfu and the other at Gibraltar. But these he was destined not to receive.

It is true he was offered a judgeship under the new régime of responsible government in Newfoundland, but he was not in sympathy with the personnel then in power; and possibly, he felt, having always before this held Crown appointments, somewhat averse to accepting a post which he regarded as not equal in importance to those he had formerly enjoyed. His more congenial and intimate friends and colleagues, with whom he had always worked, shared these views to a large extent and were leaving or had already left the Ancient Colony to settle in England. Thus we are not surprised to find him deciding, at the last quite suddenly, to sell off house and furniture, pay

off any outstanding liabilities, and make all arrangements to join his family in Nova Scotia, where he proposed to settle down in his native town of Truro. The old homestead was open to him, and no doubt, with his late father's wide connection, it would not have been a difficult matter to establish, in a comparatively short time, quite a respectable law practice. Moreover there was, too, a very fair chance of his being given a position at New York, in connection with the newly formed Atlantic Cable Company; a project which, as we have already seen, had from its inception enlisted his enthusiastic support.

His elder brother, Charles Dickson Archibald, then residing in England, was at that time rigorously pushing, or in modern parlance, "promoting" the development of a large and promising area of iron ore near the town of Londonderry, Nova Scotia, known as the Londonderry Iron Mines property, and needed some one to further its interests on the New York markets. It was, then, quite possible that here might be business openings for him, though in quite a different direction from his chosen line of legal work.

In the midst of his preparations to leave St. John's he received an urgent call to the sick-bed of his youngest son, Francis, a child of but three years old, who was ill with the much dreaded scourge of scarlet fever. Sailing at once for Halifax, he arrived there, alas, too late—the beloved boy had been laid to rest but a day or two previously.

Of the following two years, passed in Nova Scotia, there is but little record among the family papers. Nor had the idea of settling down in Truro to practise law been carried out. Mr. Archibald seems to have paid a visit to the old home with the idea of a possible permanent residence there. But, although attached by many

fond memories of his childhood days to the dear old place, his was not the nature or the temperament suited to a continued existence in a small country town. It would seem also that he had chosen an unfortunate time to revisit his birthplace, for, writing to his wife soon after his arrival there, we find him much depressed by the gloomy weather and sodden fields.

To Mrs. Archibald

TRURO, *Sunday Night, [1855 or 56].*

My dear Kate:

I wrote you a few hurried lines yesterday morning which Mr. Reynolds said he would send to you, and as I know you *expect* to hear from me every day, I may as well write a few lines before going to bed, since I propose leaving for Londonderry after breakfast to-morrow. I found a good deal to do on the other side yesterday. Peter [his unmarried brother] brought over the waggon and little mare for me and I returned to dine with him. I found everything wonderfully comfortable, so far as means would admit, Margaret having displayed an ingenuity and neatness which have made much of the limited appliances at her command. Peter seemed really happy to have me, and as far as substantial things go I have fared sumptuously. Yesterday we dined on a cut of good roast beef and to-day on a fore quarter of roast mutton, having had each of us a grilled partridge for breakfast. But it is dreary and lonely here beyond description. The fields far and wide, patched with snow, the leafless trees, and sighing wind, to which the monotonous singing of the wood fires imparted a feeling of increased sadness, rather than of cheerfulness, all combined to make me really *homesick* and I wondered how I could ever have seriously contemplated passing the winter here. Toward evening we drove over to the Post Office, and I got your letter enclosing Royal Gazette and telegraphed the Pic-tou P.O. to send my letters back and I shall now have them at the Mines on Tuesday morning. They didn't pass through Smith's hands and he couldn't stop them. It was pretty cold last night and I was glad to have Peter's rug and dressing gown too on the bed. To-day the weather has mitigated its severity and the evening is very fine, betokening a fine day—I hope week. I have been twice at church; heard Mr. Hamilton in the morning and Mr. Leaver (his valedictory sermon) in the

afternoon, after which I took a long walk with Adams¹—drank tea at the cottage, returned and having read one of Blair's sermons and a chapter or two to Peter, have accounted for myself to this present writing.

I think of you all very often, nay constantly. At Pictou I could not help thinking of the last time we were there, and devoutly thanking God for his great and undeserved mercies to me during the long period of years He has watched over me since then. Among the first and best of these mercies, the associations of the place and of our visit, awakened a very deep gratitude for a dear, fond and faithful wife—for the comfort and blessing you have been to me—and of the love and goodness of God in the dear children He has given to us—displayed not less, nay, I might well say more strongly in the removal of those dear angels whom He has taken to His glorious kingdom (and whereby He has doubtless designed to draw us thither) than in the filial affection and obedience of those who remain. Here again under the roof where I first drew breath I feel more particularly impressed with the mercy and goodness which have through a long life followed so unworthy a sinner as I am—and, withal, how do I yet give myself to the cares and interests of this fleeting, sinful world. How little am I really concerned about the welfare of my own soul and those of others—while everything in the continuous stream of past “mercies of God” to me in particular, loudly calls upon me to offer to Him that “reasonable service” which the apostle enjoins. I have endeavoured during the past week to keep in mind the Holy Ordinance in which we were engaged last Sunday and to renew my vows of faith and obedience, but the cares and interests and trivialities of the world will have their sway which long habits of indulgence have secured to them. I hope your cold has been removed, or is better—you say nothing of it—and that you have been able to go to church to-day. But we greatly need at Halifax a more zealous and really pious clergyman. I often look back, on Sundays, with feelings of regret to the days of even Mr. Blackman and our attendance at St. Thomas's;—regret that we have nothing now so edifying or comfortable. But we are too apt I fear to lay the blame of our own indevotion on the absence of piety or zeal in our clergymen. Still a faithful, able, and really pious minister is an incalculable blessing. God grant that we may have grace to come more frequently and earnestly directly to the throne of grace ourselves, and use the means at our own command for edifying each other.

¹Adams G. Archibald, afterwards Lt.-Governor of Nova Scotia.

I am sorry to hear Tom¹ is *no better*. I am sure he overtaxes his strength; and the anxieties which have been brought upon him have helped to wear him down. I trust and pray we may hear better tidings by next mail.

I think I told you I had long letters from Charles on Wednesday. He has returned to the States and will leave for England on the 10th November. He strongly counsels me to accept the N.Y. offer,² and continue in my present post at the same time as long as I can discharge both duties. This I could not do long. I pray that I may be guided aright and above all that I may not be unduly anxious about it. The matter of health which may be affected by the change is one of the most serious considerations. . . .

You often say I never can write a short letter. It is too true, and as I intended only writing a few lines to let you know my movements I must stop now. Give my love and kisses to the dear children. Remember me in your prayers as you ever are in mine and believe me, my dear Kate, your fond and affectionate husband,

E. M. ARCHIBALD.

To one for so long accustomed to a busy, active, and exciting career in the midst of political and social problems, the dull, monotonous life of a small country village offered little that was congenial. So the Truro project was not carried out. During the quarter century of his absence from Nova Scotia great changes had taken place and he felt no longer at home in his native province. The large and affectionate family circle of the year 1832 was now reduced to but three, out of the many brothers and sisters he had left behind him when, as a young man, he had taken his young bride to her home at St. John's. His two elder brothers, Charles and Thomas Dickson, had been established in England for many years, where the latter was already making a name for himself at the English Bar, of which in his later years he was

¹His brother, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas D. Archibald, then a barrister in London.

²An offer of a post in connection with the Londonderry Iron Mines which Mr. Charles Archibald was promoting.

to be such a conspicuous ornament. Another brother, Blowers, lived in Cape Breton where he was engaged in a thriving business, whilst the youngest of the three—Peter, better known as Colonel Peter Archibald—was the sole remaining representative of the family at the home-
stead on Bible Hill, Truro.

Thus there were not many attractions in Halifax, although the next two years were passed there in tolerable comfort, in spite of the somewhat up-hill work of building up a paying business connection. Meanwhile no word of any appointment came from the Colonial Office, and Mr. Archibald felt at times that he must have been thrown into the discard and forgotten, in spite of all the bright prospects which had been prophesied for him. But when the outlook was darkest his fortunes changed and to his great astonishment, on the 1st of October, 1857, he received from Lord Clarendon (entirely unsolicited by him) his appointment to the post of British Consul at New York—a position which was most congenial to him, although its duties and requirements were of a totally different nature to those of his former appointments. But there could be no doubt that such an offer was most flattering, showing as it did that the Home Government felt that he possessed the requisite knowledge, tact, and wisdom for a position which called for all, and more than all these qualities. So he proceeded without further delay to take up his new office in New York, reaching there October 12th, 1857, his family following him not long afterwards.

TWENTY-SIX YEARS
BRITISH CONSUL AT NEW YORK

CHAPTER VI

BRITISH CONSUL AT NEW YORK

ARRIVING in the city of New York, almost a total stranger, and, notwithstanding his previous experience in political and constitutional matters during the twenty-four years of his service to the Crown in the Island of Newfoundland, as yet totally unversed in consular procedure, Mr. Archibald had before him, in assuming the duties of his new position, no easy task. It is said that Lord Clarendon, then at the head of the British Foreign Office had, for sometime before the post became vacant, mentally selected a successor to be consular representative at New York; but the man he had in view, by his injudicious and ill-timed efforts to enlist men for the Crimean War, had brought down upon himself the well merited indignation of the United States Government. So high did popular feeling in America run against the group of British representatives who were implicated in this matter that the remonstrance directed against them by Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State, resulted in the withdrawal of the British Minister at Washington, and the retirement of several consuls found to have been connected with these illegal proceedings.¹ There were many aspirants for the post of British Consul at New York; it is

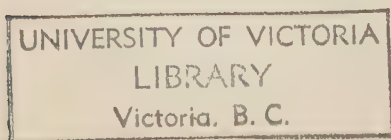
¹Mr. Archibald's immediate predecessor as British Consul in New York was Anthony Barclay, grandson of Thomas Barclay, who in the early days of the Republic had been Consul there when Washington, Adams, and Jefferson were Presidents.

Although born in New York, Anthony Barclay, being of British parentage, was therefore a subject of the Crown. He resided at first in Dey Street, where his house was noted for its brilliant social gatherings. His intellectual and entertaining wife was

said that half the people in the consular service and a great many out of it were confident of their special and peculiar aptitude for it. Under such circumstances it might appear strange that the position should have been given to a man who had never even thought of applying for it, but his handling of questions affecting the public interest of Newfoundland had, as we have already seen, brought Mr. Archibald under the attention of Lord Clarendon, and had convinced that shrewd statesman that he was just the man for a post which, for its due discharge, requires a combination of qualities hard to find. "It was desirable," said one of the leading New York daily papers, in referring many years afterwards to Mr. Archibald's appointment, "to have a lawyer, and Mr. Archibald held a high legal position in at least two of the British provinces. Then, too, he was a man of the world in the best sense, and was acquainted, to some extent at least, with the United States; he had twice been appointed Commissioner on matters connected with the Newfoundland fisheries, as also with the reciprocity treaty entered into by Lord Elgin. In addition to this necessary equipment, his personality was greatly in his favour. He possessed an urbanity, conciliatory demeanour, judgment, and address which made the Foreign Office feel that in an emergency he could be thoroughly relied upon to do the right thing." The emergency, as will be seen, was not long delayed!

an acknowledged leader of society and was perhaps the most brilliant conversationalist of her day. In December 1842, Mr. Barclay received his appointment as British Consul, succeeding in this office Mr. James Buchanan who had held the post from 1816 up to that date.

The nature of Mr. Barclay's Consular appointment requiring his withdrawal from all active commercial pursuits, he in consequence retired from the business firm of Barclay & Livingston in favour of his eldest son. It is most unfortunate that he should have become implicated with other officials, as previously mentioned, in the matter of the charges made against them of having enlisted men for service in the Crimean war, in consequence of which and at the request of the U.S. Government, his exequatur as Consul, with several others, was withdrawn in the year 1857.



The new consul had, however, great need for each and all of the good qualities with which he was credited. Although his appointment appears to have been very well received and favourably commented upon by the public press—as we find him modestly announcing to his Home Government—he had arrived in New York City at a crisis in American history that was big with coming events destined to make the quarter century of his service in that city the most eventful period in the history of the Union. The political unrest and agitation of the United States in those days have never been equalled before or since.

The mutterings of the coming storm, soon to break out into the fierce struggle for the independence of the Southern States; the never-ceasing strife and tumult of political parties; the weak and vacillating administration of the Executive then in power; the widespread distrust—not to call it hatred—of Britain and things British—all these factors were against the new consul, as he took charge of his modest office at 17 Broadway—next to the old Stevens House and opposite the Bowling Green—and set about learning the duties of his position.

The port of New York, even in those days one of the busiest and most important in the world, did not then produce more business in relation to British ships and seamen requiring to register at the Consulate of Her Britannic Majesty, than could be easily handled by the consul, vice-consul, and one clerk. Indeed, as will be seen from the following correspondence between Mr. Archibald and the Secretary of the Foreign Office in Downing Street, when the subject of the appointment of a vice-consul was discussed Mr. Archibald at first hesitated, not wishing, as he said, to entail any greater expense upon the Home Government than could possibly be avoided.

To Spencer Ponsonby

Private

BRITISH CONSULATE, NEW YORK,

November 2nd., 1857.

TO SPENCER PONSONBY, ESQ.,

*Foreign Office,
London.*

Dear Sir:

In my note to you of this date, herewith, I have expressed my assent to the appointment of W. Pierpont Edwards as my vice-consul. If you will permit me to do so, I will explain to yourself, why I have so long hesitated to reply to your note of the 29th of September, on this subject.

Immediately after receiving the notification of my appointment I learnt from Mr. Fowler, that much misapprehension prevailed on all sides respecting the emoluments of this consulate; and that, taking into account the expense of office rent, clerk's salaries, fuel, stationery, and other matters on the office, it was not possible for the incumbent, without drawing upon his private means, to live in the manner which his official standing and position in society here—and an equality with the consular offices of other nations—rendered indispensable. Being, therefore, a working man myself, I thought it worth consideration whether I could not, with the assistance of ordinary clerks, discharge the whole of the duties, without the aid, and consequently increased expense, of a vice-consul. I have satisfied myself, however, that this would hardly be practicable, without affording to the commercial body ground for complaint. At this port the consul, or his vice-consul, must be constantly in attendance. Independently of the regular and ordinary duties of the office from the fact of the residence here of a larger British population than in any other foreign port—a great proportion of whom is of the poorer classes—an amount of extra duty, involving time and labour in correspondence and otherwise, is cast upon the consul, which is perhaps not fully understood at home. At the same time the Consul is prohibited from engaging in trade—a restriction which I believe does not extend to other consuls in the United States;—and while I fully assent to the propriety and necessity of such a restriction in so large a commercial emporium as New York, still this restriction, in conjunction with the much higher cost of living here than in other cities of the Union, places this consulate, in effect, in a worse position as to the remuneration of the incumbent than those of Boston, Philadelphia or Charlestown. I

do not advert to these matters with the view or desire of making any complaint—but rather for the purpose of justifying my delay in complying with Lord Clarendon's wishes, and with the object of introducing economy in the organization of this consulate, if I could have done so with a just regard to the proper discharge of its duties.

May I take the opportunity of saying, if you will permit me, that my own appointment appears to have given satisfaction on this side, if I may judge from the tone of the American Press. This is perhaps owing just now to their willingness to be pleased. The appointment of Mr. Edwards as my vice-consul is likely to give no less satisfaction. The press here possesses the faculty of ferreting out, and even anticipating news, in a particularly clear manner. I do not know in what way Lord Clarendon's intentions with reference to Mr. Edwards have become so far known as to find their way into the newspapers; but at all events, I am sure His Lordship will not be displeased to learn that in one of the leading and most influential commercial papers Mr. Edward's nomination to the vice-consulate is noticed in so flattering a manner; as see *The Evening Post* which I send you herewith. I come in for a share of the merit where I deserve none.

Begging you to pardon my troubling you with so lengthy a note, I am, dear sir,

Respectfully and faithfully yours,

E. M. ARCHIBALD.

From Spencer Ponsonby

DOWNING ST., LONDON,

November 20th, 1857.

TO E. M. ARCHIBALD, ESQ.,

British Consul-General,

New York City.

Dear Sir:

I have the pleasure to inform you that Lord Clarendon is perfectly satisfied with your explanations with reference to the delay in reply to my note about Mr. Edwards, and thinks that you were perfectly right in making the enquiries and taking the precautions you did in the matter.

Lord Clarendon is much obliged by your readiness to comply with his wishes respecting Mr. Edwards and hopes that you will find him as useful as the favourable testimonies and notices of him in the United States Press would lead you to expect.

You must also allow me to congratulate you on the favourable view taken by the Press of the United States of your appointment.

Yours very faithfully,

SPENCER PONSONBY.

How little could he then foresee the rapid and phenomenal advance in commerce between the two countries, which led him to remark in a speech at a public banquet in 1882, that during the term of his office in New York, "the tonnage of British ships entering that port yearly, has increased from 200,000 tons to 4,000,000; the number of seamen from 10,000 to 90,000, while the commerce of the two countries carried on through New York is estimated at many hundred millions."

In the privacy of his home circle, he used, half laughingly to lament that, when given his choice between a fixed salary, or one half the fees collected from shipping, he should have decided for the not very liberal salary which for the first fifteen years he received from the British Government.

The appointment of Pierrepont Edwards¹ as his vice-consul was a very fortunate and happy one, and the two gentlemen worked together during the entire period of twenty-six years in the utmost harmony and friendship.

During the first eighteen months of their residence in the city Mr. and Mrs. Archibald had their domicile in East 18th St., but just prior to 1860 the family removed to a large and commodious mansion, No. 161 West Fourteenth Street, then considered one of the most desirable residential parts of the city. They attended for several years the Church of the Annunciation in Fourteenth Street near Sixth Avenue, of which, at that time, the Rev. Dr.

¹Mr. Edwards was a son of Mr. Charles Edwards, an Englishman residing in New York, and a brilliant and well-known lawyer. He was the author of several noteworthy legal volumes, as well as a work called, *Pleasantries about Courts and Lawyers*, published in 1867, and dedicated to his son Pierrepont Edwards, H. B. M. Vice-Consul at New York, "through my love for him as a son and my pride in him as a man."

Seabury, grandson of Bishop Seabury, the first Bishop of the American Episcopal Church, was rector.

It was not long before the Archibald home became a centre for delightful hospitality, especially to English people visiting America, many of whom brought with them letters of introduction to the British Consul. Mr. Archibald's family at that time included three daughters between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three, his son Edward Brenton, eighteen years old, and a fourth daughter who was but a child of six.

Always modest in his estimate of his own powers, it may not be out of place to quote here from a speech made by the new British Consul at a St. Andrew's Day banquet of Scotchmen, held not long after his arrival in the city in 1857. In thanking them for the very complimentary references they had made to his appointment, he assured them that he approached the discharge of his duties with unfeigned diffidence as to his own qualifications for the office, when he remembered those who had preceded him. But, he said, there was one circumstance to which, if he adverted, he trusted they would pardon him, while it was one in which he could hardly claim the sympathy of those who sat around that board, since, unlike themselves, he hailed from this and not the other side of the Atlantic—he was a British colonist. Apart from any consideration of personal fitness for his position, which he disclaimed, he regarded the selection of a colonist for the high office which he had the honour to fill, as a recognition of a principle in reference to such appointments which was destined to bind more closely the interests of the colonies and the Mother-country.

It was true, of course, that the naval and military services had always been open to colonists, and not a few of them had fought their way to fame and shed their

blood in many a hard-fought battle. Among these, he was proud to remember the gallant Welsford, who fell leading the forlorn hope at Sebastopol; and the heroic defender of Kars, the brave General Williams, both of whom were, like himself, Nova Scotians.

But the patronage of offices such as that which he had the honour to hold, had not, until quite recently, been extended to colonists; and, however unworthy he might be to fill it, he regarded the appointment as an official recognition of a principle akin to that which gave to the *Civis Romanus* of old, whether born on the banks of the Tagus or the Tay, the status which made him eligible for the highest civil as well as military offices of his nation.

The best review of national and political conditions existing when the new British Consul arrived in New York in 1857 is contained in the following from an article from *The Hour*, published, it is true, in 1883, many years subsequent to the appointment of Mr. Archibald, but which gives a wonderfully graphic sketch of the confusion which then prevailed.

It is now a quarter of a century since Mr. (now Sir Edward) Archibald came to us. How far back it seems even in the history of our young nation! What tremendous events have occurred since then! Mr. Buchanan was President. Mr. Jefferson Davis led the forces of the extreme States Rights Party.

We were in the midst of the slavery agitation. The breach between the North and the South was becoming wider and wider each day. Chief Justice Taney was pronouncing the awful decision that, under the Constitution a black man had no rights that a white man was bound to respect. Mr. Seward was proclaiming the doctrine of the "Higher Law" and preaching the "irrepressible conflict." John Brown was planning his raid into Virginia. Mr. Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney-General, as the first law officer of the weak and vacillating administration of Buchanan, was solemnly declaring that there was no power in the United States to coerce a State.

Sumner and Chase and Lovejoy and Hale were eloquently maintaining in the National Senate the right of the black man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. William Lloyd Garrison, in the columns of the *Liberator*, and Wendell Phillips and Lucretia Mott on the platform were ably sustaining the same cause of humanity.

Abraham Lincoln was practising law in the wilds of Illinois. Ulysses S. Grant was a poor clerk in his father's store in Galena. William Tecumseh Sherman was a professor in an obscure military school in Louisiana. The heroic Thomas A. Humble was a major at the cavalry barracks at Carlisle. Robert E. Lee was a colonel in the regular army, looking on at the political battle and watching the coming storm from Arlington Heights, in full view of the Federal capital which Mr. Davis had just crowned with an absurd statue of Liberty. His state was more to him than the United States; as she went, so would he go. Two years later his sword went to the Rebellion. The great debate between the advocates of slavery on the one hand and freedom on the other, was then challenging the attention of the whole world. . . .

Next to ourselves, the people of all people most interested in the results, was England. We inherited from her our ideas of freedom; Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights, were part of the most precious cargo of the *Mayflower*. In Great Britain, for one reason or another, public opinion was about as evenly divided in regard to the merits of the controversy as it was among ourselves. Interest, tradition, prejudice, swayed men and parties there as they swayed them here. Both countries became divided into two hostile camps. The Northern States were far from united during the sanguinary battle that soon followed. We had a "Peace-on-Any-Terms" party. Even Mr. Greeley urged that the "erring sisters be allowed to go in peace." Is it any wonder that in another land—the land of all lands nearest and dearest to us—there should have been a division of sentiment, as marked as in the United States?

This then was the situation when Mr. Archibald's lot was cast among us as the consul of Great Britain. His duties were only a shade less trying than those of Lord Lyons, Her Britannic Majesty's minister at Washington. In fact, they were, if anything, more difficult. Lord Lyons had to deal with the great, broad question of international law and diplomacy, but there fell to the arbitrament of Mr. Archibald the settlement of hundreds and thousands of annoying and vexatious questions, any one of which, indiscreetly handled, might have precipitated a conflict between the two countries.

Perhaps the most outstanding event, which came within the earlier experiences of the British consul at New York was the visit of H.R.H. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, to that city in 1860. It was noteworthy as being the first occasion on which the Heir Apparent to the British throne had made the voyage across the Atlantic to visit the overseas colonies, and still more remarkable for the fact that this was the first time since the separation of the thirteen colonies from the Mother-country that any member of the Royal family of England had been the guest of the United States of America.

Prince Albert Edward, who traveled under the name of Baron Renfrew (one of the minor titles belonging to him as Prince of Wales) had in September, 1860, completed his tour in Newfoundland and through Canada, and, after having visited Niagara Falls, was about to go to Chicago, then virtually the Gateway to the West, and on to St. Louis; one of the objects of his visit to these then remote places being the prospect of some good shooting on the prairies. During the whole of his tour in the United States the Prince was accompanied by Lord Lyons, who joined the Royal party at Detroit. His subsequent visit to New York seems to have been determined upon largely in consequence of the representations of Consul Archibald, who, writing to Lord Lyons on the matter, described the universal desire of the New Yorkers to do honour to the Heir to the British throne, should he visit their city; and also spoke of the eagerness with which the British residents in New York were looking forward to an opportunity of manifesting their love and loyalty to their sovereign in the person of her eldest son. Indeed their very loyalty added in no small degree to the many perplexities of the consul, for among the many and varied items of the brilliant programme of entertainments and

sight-seeing expeditions which were being planned for the reception of the Prince of Wales by the City Fathers, the British residents, pluming themselves on being subjects of the Crown, demanded that an opportunity be given them to present a loyal address to their future King. Not only was it a matter of difficulty to find an opportune moment for this very natural and laudable object, but it was extremely doubtful if such an address were possible, inasmuch as the Prince was, officially, known only as a Baron, and as such was not entitled to protestations of loyalty, however sincerely offered.

All these difficulties and probably many others not chronicled in official correspondence were duly laid before Lord Lyons by Consul Archibald, and the following letter from his Chief will show how the two diplomats proposed to solve the problem, and to save the situation in regard to the British residents in New York:

From Lord Lyons

Private

NIAGARA FALLS,

September 17th, 1860.

My dear Sir:

Your letter of the 12th I received here the day before yesterday, your letter of the 11th to-day. You will not doubt that I have understood and felt for your perplexities. The telegram, which I have just dispatched, will I hope in great measure put an end to them.

The objections to an address from the British residents, which you state in your second letter had, with others, occurred to me. In fact *who* could be addressed? An address to Lord Renfrew would be an absurdity. It would be equally absurd, and, indeed, would be discourteous to the Americans, for the Royal State and Title to be assumed exclusively in favour of the British.

The Prince is desirous to do all in his power to manifest his appreciation of the loyal feelings of our countrymen at New York. His Royal Highness would have great pleasure in accepting the invitation to luncheon, which you say the British residents desire to tender to him—provided of course that such arrangements were made as would

be satisfactory to the Americans. Thus, of course, it must be a distinct and positive understanding that all risk of speeches or addresses of every kind must be avoided. His Royal Highness cannot protract his stay beyond the time fixed. But it seems to me that a luncheon on the part of the British residents might form part of the programme on Saturday, supposing the private luncheon at the Mayor's to take place on Friday. The day's proceedings should be so arranged as to bring the luncheon to about two o'clock. His Royal Highness rather than appear in the smallest degree insensible to the warm feelings of attachment to Her Majesty and loyalty to the Crown, with which the British subjects at New York are animated, would sacrifice his visit to some of the objects he desires to see. You will perceive, however, that in consideration of the very short time he has at his disposal, and of the vast number of things he ought to see, the British residents would show a real courtesy by limiting the time to be consumed at the luncheon to the shortest space, compatible with the entertainments answering the purpose of manifesting their loyalty and the Prince's appreciation of it. After a certain time His Royal Highness and his attendants might retire quietly, and pursue their tour sight-seeing, without this breaking up the party. This is the course which has been taken at all the luncheons in Canada. All this, however, may, I am sure, be safely left to your management. The great things are: 1st, to make the British residents feel that their loyalty is really understood and fully appreciated; secondly, not to prevent His Royal Highness having time for objects of real interest, which he will probably never have another opportunity of seeing; thirdly (and very importantly), not to run any risk of causing any offense or even disagreeable feeling to the Americans. I write all this hastily and confidentially, but you will understand my meaning, and, I feel sure, manage the whole thing satisfactorily to all parties.

Yours faithfully,

LYONS.

To E. M. ARCHIBALD, Esq.,

Her Britannic Majesty's Consul,

NEW YORK.

The suggestion as to a luncheon to be given by the British residents in the city to the Prince of Wales was not carried out—at least, not officially. There was not a moment during the few days of his stay in the Metrop-

olis when his American hosts would have been willing to forego the pleasure of his society. The city went wild over their illustrious visitor—a quiet, modest, unassuming young fellow of nineteen—whose charm of manner and whose winning smile captured all hearts. Every moment of his time was occupied and he was taken about to see all the sights; to the different charitable institutions, and to the then recently opened Central Park, where he planted two trees. A grand ball was planned in his honour at the Academy of Music in Fourteenth street. The Committee in charge of this “Renfrew” Ball had, evidently, no easy time of it, in deciding such important particulars as the choice of partners for the royal guest from among the many fair ladies who considered themselves eligible for that honour; and, in the end, had the claims of these social aspirants been estimated in terms of avoirdupois, plus dollars and diamonds, the youthful heir to the throne of England might well have been excused for trying to elude one or two of these somewhat elderly and ponderous hostesses, and choosing for himself a less socially prominent but more suitable partner. The male members of the Committee, too, had their own problems to solve, which seem to have taken the form of doubts as to what to wear on this auspicious but unprecedented occasion—if one is to be guided by a quotation from a humorous poem by R. J. de Cordova, describing the tour of the Prince of Wales through the United States of America. On page 64 of this publication, referring to the Ball Committee, several of whom were members of the Common Council of New York, it says that they—

Applied for some hints
To His Highness the Prince
As to whether 'twas right
That vests of pure white

With black pants and coats
...Should perforce be the rule.

(The Prince, with a laugh, referred it to the Duke of Newcastle, who in turn referred it to Lord Lyons).

... But his lordship distinctly and flatly refused
And begged that diplomatists might be excused
From saying a word on the white waistcoat plan—
"There's Archibald now—he's a great ladies' man"—
(Here the Consul grew instantly red in the face):
"I know nothing," said he, "in regard to this case,
And I think that a tailor had better declare
What you and the rest of the folks ought to wear!"

When the Ball finally came off, so great was the crush that the floor, which had been perhaps too hastily laid over the entire parquet, gave way, and in their hurry to repair the damage, one of the workmen was inadvertently nailed down underneath it and had to be hurriedly rescued.

In the round of sight-seeing and festivities, the British consul, as was his duty and pleasure, accompanied the Royal visitor, and before he left him on Saturday night, at his magnificent suite of rooms at the then new Fifth Avenue Hotel, it had been quietly decided between Lord Lyons, Mr. Archibald, and the Prince that Sunday should be reserved as a comparatively private day, and that His Royal Highness would take luncheon quietly at one o'clock with the British consul and his family at his residence, and afterwards, if it could be so arranged, he would, with his suite, take a short trip on the Hudson River in one of the newest of the fast steamboats which were then considered among the marvels of the age. It was decided that a number of English residents should be invited to take part in this expedition, and an official few to be included in the family luncheon party.

This programme was successfully carried out in all its particulars and the writer of this memoir, young as she then was, still retains a vivid recollection of the wonderful happenings in her usually quiet home on that memorable Sunday, the 14th of October, 1860. She recalls seeing the Prince in their drawing-room, chatting with her two grown-up sisters and laughing merrily as he examined a collection of rather singular gifts which had been sent by various admirers of Royalty to her father's care for the Prince of Wales. Among these a brilliant crimson pin-cushion with the Prince's crest and motto in beads; a cage of green love birds, and a set of books in a perfumed case, bound in red satin—stand out most prominently in her memory. Other memories also come back to her; of how the Royal visitor spoke kindly to the small child, and asked her name and age; of the many distinguished-looking old gentlemen who seemed to surround him. Of their all trooping into the dining-room to luncheon; of her looking out the drawing-room window and seeing a dense mass of people crowding around the house; of boys climbing up the balconies to look in the windows and being chased off by policemen; of the blank that seemed to fall on the household at their departure; of her sister's friend who was visiting them, who wept and refused to be comforted because the Prince had gone and she would see him no more; of the child herself being very proud that he had danced twice (unofficially) at the ball with her beloved sister, G., who had looked *so* lovely that night! both she, and the sister next older than her—in their billowy white tulle ball-gowns distended over immense hoop-skirts and trimmed with yards and yards of narrow white and gold satin ribbon, and looped up with roses—while the most lovely gold brooches, made to represent the three feathers and crown of the Prince's crest

and adorned with his own motto, *Ich-dien*, blazed resplendent in the front of their modest "bodices"; of her mother showing her where the Prince had sat at table and the silver goblet¹ from which he had drunk his Bass' Ale.

Concerning the Excursion on the Hudson River from West Point to Albany, on the departure of the Royal party there was a slight *contretemps*, which, however, was successfully surmounted. It seems that the beautiful steamboat, *Daniel Drew*, the pride of her owner, for whom she was named, had been placed at the disposal of the Royal visitor by Mr. Drew, who probably with the best of motives, had himself invited a large number of his own friends to accompany him on the auspicious occasion. A magnificent and costly luncheon for one hundred guests had also been ordered. When, however, the Duke of Newcastle heard of these arrangements he courteously but firmly informed Mr. Drew that the invariable rule of the party of "Baron Renfrew" had been to bear all their own traveling expenses, and that in the present instance they could not depart from it; so, at the last moment, Mr. Drew was obliged to cancel his invitations and to make the best of a somewhat awkward situation.

That he felt keenly about the matter there was little doubt, but the affair was smoothed over in some way, Mr. Cyrus W. Field evidently playing a leading rôle as peacemaker, if one is to judge by the letter to him written

¹This goblet, made by the celebrated jewellers of the day, Messrs. Ball & Black, and suitably inscribed to commemorate the illustrious occasion, was jealously regarded as an heirloom in the family of Consul Archibald, to be handed down to posterity by the eldest son. But the years bring many sweeping changes, and so it has come about that this goblet is now the property of that same little child, the youngest of the family, to whom her mother showed it that memorable Sunday, sixty-three years ago! And, because history not infrequently repeats itself, it has also come about in the strange working of the loom

of Time that though the child of 1860 is now an aged woman of seventy, and married nearly fifty years ago, her name is still Archibald, and the goblet will descend to her son and her grandson, now doubly prized because of its having been used yet again by another Prince of Wales, the grandson of Albert Edward of 1860—and son and heir of His Majesty King George V. This second occurrence took place at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Charles

by Consul Archibald when the affair was over and the Prince had left. Indeed, the Consul, who was himself present on this occasion used to give a very humorous account of the whole affair, and especially of the rather comic termination of the trip. He said that soon after they left West Point, luncheon was announced and the Royal Party sat down to partake of the costly and elegant banquet which had been provided by the hospitality of Mr. Drew, for the one hundred extra guests of his own, whom he, in all good faith, but lacking an acquaintance with the rule by which evidently Royal travelers are governed (not to say hampered) had bidden to the feast. It would appear that Mr. Drew was nursing his chagrin and disappointment in the wheel-house, when he was accosted by one of his Royal Highness' suite sent by him to say that the Prince and his party were awaiting Mr. Drew's presence to begin their meal. Mr. Drew, however, refused the invitation somewhat curtly saying that he was "much obliged to the young man but under the circumstances he didn't think he would go down." As no persuasion seemed to avail, there was nothing for it but to report his refusal to the Prince of Wales, who, much concerned, sent a second messenger to endeavour to placate the owner of the boat. After much time had been consumed, during which the appetite of everybody was increasing, Mr. Drew finally relented and descending

Archibald, Halifax, Nova Scotia, at an afternoon dance, when the present Prince of Wales, grandson of Albert Edward, fifty-nine years later, once more made use of the historic cup. A second inscription, recording this incident, has since been engraved upon it.

Another souvenir of the visit to Consul Archibald's home in 1860 of the Prince of Wales, is in the form of a large and handsomely bound album presented to him and containing excellent portraits of the Prince and his suite, photographed by Brady of New York, the day before the Royal party left Boston for England. Photographs at that date were still somewhat novelties. Each one bears the autograph of the original. This album was examined with great interest and some amusement by the grandson of Albert Edward during his visit to Halifax in 1919. His Royal Highness was so good as to place his autograph on the last page of the book; that of his royal grandfather when Prince of Wales adorning the first.

to the saloon found himself placed, as the guest of honour at the right hand of Royalty. Somewhat conscious and ill at ease at first the Consul used to relate with great gusto that, under the genial influence of Albert Edward's tactful efforts, assisted no doubt by the mellowing effect of the champagne and other choice wines, Mr. Drew at length became so happy and contented that he slapped the Prince on the back and called him "Sonny!" bidding him tell his mother when he got home how much Americans thought of him!

After the Prince's departure Mr. Archibald wrote the following letter to his friend Mr. Field:

My dear Mr. Field,

I have really been so pressed with arrears of business since my return on Wednesday evening, and still am, that I am obliged to say in writing briefly that which I should prefer to do personally, how much indebted I feel to you for your valuable and kind assistance to me during the Prince's visit; and especially on Sunday last in reference to the matter of the *Daniel Drew*.

The reception which the Prince has received in this country has not only immensely gratified himself and all his suite, as it was well calculated to do; but it will, I am sure, create in England a profound feeling of admiration for and of gratitude towards this country, the effect of which I cannot but think will be very beneficial to the future of both countries. Although I was sorry to part from the Prince I cannot tell you with what a feeling of relief it was from the deep anxiety of which I could not divest myself during his stay here, lest any untoward event should mar the happiness or interfere with the safety of himself in a community composed of such heterogeneous elements. The responsibility in such an event would have centred on myself, as Lord Lyons never having been in New York, the visit to this city was determined on in pursuance of my representations. I thank God it is all so well and so happily over, and so vastly more successful than I had anticipated, or than any of us indeed had expected.

Again thanking you for your many kindnesses, I am,

My dear sir, yours faithfully,

E. M. ARCHIBALD



Albert-Jean

Prof. Weber 1859

From a Painting by Winterhalter—Courtesy of the Misses Brown, Halifax



H.R.H. EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES
Canada, 1919

CHAPTER VII

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

THE strained relations which existed between England and the United States during the war of the Rebellion are too well known to need much comment. Time and again the two countries were on the brink of a rupture, which, had it actually taken place, would have had the most lamentable consequences. Feeling ran high on both sides of the ocean, there was a perfect frenzy of misunderstanding. Unrest and suspicion everywhere abounded, the air was full of mutterings and threatenings. The month of April, 1861, saw the actual beginning of the rupture between the North and the South, and the fall of Fort Sumter, on the 14th of April, was the signal for the calling out by President Lincoln of a force of seventy-five thousand men to aid in quelling the rebellion. There was no more hesitation. By one decisive stroke the new and untried President, till then a wholly unknown quantity, and uncertain even to the members of his cabinet, assumed his rightful position as the leader of the American nation. There was to be no more trifling with the "erring sisters," or any further discussion of the constitutional rights of Congress to coerce a State. The Union was in danger; at all costs the Union must be maintained. Between the 17th and the 24th of April, 1860, occurred the rioting and agitation in Baltimore during which the railway bridges were destroyed and telegraphic communication cut off, whilst the safety of the Capital itself was threatened.

At the British Consulate in New York, the arrival of the messenger bearing official dispatches from Lord Lyons to announce to the British Government the tremendous news of the outbreak of the war, was anxiously awaited. It was of the utmost importance that these dispatches should be sent by the Cunard Steamship *Persia*, then ready for sea. As the hours crept by and no messenger arrived, the consul even ventured to detain the mail boat until 6.00 a.m. on Thursday morning, the 25th.¹ In the meantime Mr. Archibald prepared a dispatch addressed to Lord John Russell, which he proposed to forward in case the official announcement from Lord Lyons failed to arrive. Eventually the *Persia* sailed without the dispatches from Washington, as they did not arrive until Friday the 26th, but she took with her to the British Foreign Office a full and particular statement of the situation in regard to the outbreak of the Civil War.

In going over Consul Archibald's papers after his decease, a copy of this dispatch was found, bearing a memorandum to the effect that he wished it "to be made public after his death." Many years passed before this direction was carried out; although friends of the family such as the late Cyrus W. Field and others, and men who had known him in public life, like Whitelaw Reid and Richard Gilder, editor of the *Century*, urged upon his family the importance of publishing not only the dispatch but an account of his long and eventful career. But his widow, Lady Archibald, shrank from undertaking the task, or permitting others to do so, and thus it was not until 1891 that the dispatch appeared, by special request of Mr. Gilder, in the *Century*, in connection with the series of articles on the Civil War then running in that magazine.

¹It will be remembered that, at this time, there was no communication with Europe by Atlantic telegraph the cable having broken down in 1856. It was not recovered and in good working order until 1866.

Although the *Century* had particularly requested that it should be accompanied by a brief explanatory note, only the dispatch itself was forwarded, and appeared, without any "setting" in the "Open Letters" at the back of the magazine, where it was comparatively unnoticed.

So fearful was Lady Archibald of using any unauthorized material, even at that distance of time, that she asked for and received permission from Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State, to have this dispatch published. The permission was cheerfully given and the dispatch, beautifully copied, sent to her with Lord Salisbury's compliments.

The correspondence on the dispatch which follows, has, however, never before been published, and as it is of great interest from the American point of view, it is thought desirable to reproduce it here.

To the British Secretary of State

BRITISH CONSULATE

NEW YORK, *April 24th, 1861.*

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE,

HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

My Lord:

I have the honour to report to Your Lordship that there has been no communication by mail or telegraph to or from Washington since Friday afternoon. During the last two days we have had rumours that the authorities of the State of Maryland had undertaken to restore the railroad communication through Baltimore, and re-establish telegraphic communication with the National Capital; but thus far nothing appears to have been done in this respect, and as, in the sadly disturbed state of the country, the special messenger with Lord Lyons' dispatches for this packet may, possibly, fail to arrive before her departure, it may perhaps be useful that I should give Your Lordship a brief review of the startling events of the past few days, and a report of the existing condition of public affairs in this country.

Your Lordship will have learnt from Lord Lyons of the bombard-

ment of Fort Sumter by the forces of the Confederate States, and of its evacuation on Sunday the 14th instant. A full knowledge of the whole of this affair leaves no shadow of doubt that Major Anderson, and the very slim garrison under his command, displayed great courage and gallantry, and succumbed only when deprived of the capability of further resistance. Why the naval expedition sent from this port for the reinforcement of the fort did not co-operate with its defenders or send them assistance has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

On Monday the 15th, President Lincoln issued his Proclamation calling out a militia force of 75,000 men to aid in executing the laws; and ordering the combination of lawless men in the seceded states to disperse within twenty days; and, at the same time, summoning Congress to meet on the 4th July next in special session.

The ambiguity of the President's inaugural address, the subsequent vacillating and apparently objectless policy of his Government and the useless efforts of the Peace Conference at Washington, and of the Virginian Convention to establish a satisfactory basis of reconstruction of the Union had combined to produce a state of apathy and indifference in the public mind, which seemed almost introductory to a recognition of the Southern Confederacy, as the readiest solution of the complicated condition of public affairs.

But the attack upon and capture of Fort Sumter followed by the President's Proclamation, caused a sudden and complete transformation of public sentiment. The ulterior revolutionary designs of the Confederate leaders, and of the sedulous preparation they had made to accomplish them, were now fully comprehended; and the stinging insult which had been inflicted on the national flag by the merciless bombardment of Fort Sumter and its starving garrison aroused such a feeling of intense indignation throughout the entire North and West, that the President's Proclamation was responded to with an enthusiasm for which he himself could not have been prepared, and which it is hardly possible adequately to describe.

The whole population of the Free States, as it were one man, sprang to its feet on the instant, determined to sustain the Government, vindicate the honour of the national flag, and effectually quell the rebellion. Political difference of every kind were at once hushed, and there was but one heart, and one voice, in the unmistakable declaration that, not only should the Government be upheld, but the Union preserved at whatever cost of blood or treasure.

During the whole of last week and up to the time I now write,

the most vigorous and energetic efforts have been made to push forward troops for the defence of the national capital and other assailable points. The enrolment of volunteers has gone on without ceasing. The question is not who shall join the army, but rather who shall remain at home.

The most liberal contributions of money and means of all kinds have been made by public bodies and by private individuals

This city has been, for the time, converted into a military camp. Business of every kind has given place to the needful military preparations. The Clergy, the Bench, the Bar, all classes—men, women, and children—are fired with a patriotic ardour which the newspapers, filled as they are with details, still imperfectly describe. On Saturday a public meeting in support of the Government was held in this city, at which not fewer than 100,000 persons were present, presided over by leading and influential members of the community, and at which complete unanimity prevailed. A report of the proceedings and resolutions will be found in the newspapers which I transmit herewith. Day after day has only added to the excitement and to the earnestness of the movement.

To revert to the order of events, the President's Proclamation was followed by one from General Davis inviting applications for letters of marque and reprisal against Northern commerce. This in its turn was followed by a Proclamation of President Lincoln establishing a blockade of all the ports of the seceded States; and instructions have now been issued to the Collectors of Customs forbidding the clearance of any vessels for ports in the seceded States.

On or about Wednesday the 17th instant, the Convention of Virginia, in secret session, resolved to secede without submitting any ordinance for ratification by the people, as required by the constitution of the Government itself; and leaders of the revolution in that State at once proceeded vigorously to co-operate with their more Southern allies by organizing a large force and seizing on Federal property. A body of some 2,500 men despatched to seize the important United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was defeated in its purpose only by the burning and blowing up of the Arsenal by the detachment in charge of it, which then with difficulty effected its retreat.

Meantime Fort Pickens at Pensacola has been closely invested by the Confederate forces augmented by some of those released from Charleston.

This fort was, without doubt, reinforced more than a week since

by troops sent in the United States ship *Brooklyn*, and is said to be capable of effectively resisting the efforts of its besiegers. No intelligence whatever has been received from that quarter for several days, but it is believed the bombardment of the fort is now being prosecuted, and whether successfully or not it will be attended with great loss of life. Rumours prevail this morning that the fort has actually been captured. On the other hand, most serious apprehensions have been, and still are entertained for the safety of Washington. The rapid advance of such a force as was known to be at the command of General Davis, with the active co-operation of the Virginians, it was fully feared might overpower the small body of troops defending that city under the command of General Scott. That this was the chief stroke of policy in the plans of the Confederate leaders is now well understood. The possession of the national Capital and the belief of the existence of an extensive sympathy throughout the North with the Secessionists, or, at all events, of an indisposition to act coercively against them, were relied on to secure for the Confederate leaders such an ascendancy as would enable them to dictate the terms of the reconstruction of the Union.

I send enclosed a slip or two from the papers of to-day, giving the latest reports from Baltimore and Washington. From these it appears that the Capital is yet in a critical condition. I have also addressed to the Foreign Office the New York morning papers for the last four days.

In the absence of any possible intelligence of the movements of the disunionists owing to the interruption of the telegraph and mails, it remains at this moment uncertain whether they may not make, and possibly succeed in an attack on the Capital. It is believed, however, that their delay before Forts Sumter and Pickens, the indecision of the Virginian Convention, and, above all, their entire miscalculation of the sentiments of the people of the North, have somewhat marred their plans; and it is hoped that by the forces already at the command of the President, they may be kept in check until the overpowering numbers, fast hurrying to the Capital, can be mustered there.

The unexpected outbreak of the war, had found the North and West, though abounding in men, money, and a spirit of hearty loyalty to the Constitution still greatly unprepared in armament and equipment. Among the plans of the Secessionist leaders, long since preconcerted and executed, and now openly boasted of in the South, was the removal from the Free States of arms and munitions of war. Already there is

discovered an alarming deficiency of even small arms for the militia and volunteers.

The first movement of troops on the call of the President was from Massachusetts followed by large levies from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and this State. On Friday last, while passing through Baltimore, a portion of a Boston regiment was attacked by a very numerous mob of sympathizers with secession, when the troops were enabled to force their way through the city, only after a riot and a combat in which two soldiers and eleven citizens were killed and many wounded on both sides. The city, hitherto, has been entirely under the control of the Secessionists and mob law rules. The railway bridges in the neighbourhood of the city have been burnt or cut down, the telegraph seized and interrupted, and all regular communication through Baltimore with Washington suspended.

It appears to have been a preconcerted but not suspected plan of the Confederate leaders, to prevent, at the proper moment, the sending of any reinforcements to Washington through Maryland, in which State the Union party is for the present overpowered and silenced. In proof of this plan a body of some three or four thousand Virginians, passing round by Harper's Ferry, are reported to have advanced into Maryland to overawe, and operate in that State but which, at last accounts, had not yet approached Baltimore. This unruly city is now kept in terror of bombardment from Fort McHenry, which is in possession of an adequate force of Federal troops. A few days, however, will see the Baltimoreans brought to their senses, for (from what is manifest of the deep indignation of the North at this obstruction of their highway to the national Capital) a further persistence in such a course of proceeding would, I verily believe, lead to the bombardment and probable destruction of the city.

Fortress Munroe, commanding the mouth of the James River, one of the strongest forts of the country and an important strategical position, has been fully garrisoned by Federal troops. The Navy Yard and Stores at Norfolk, however, being incapable of defence were, the day before yesterday, destroyed, and all the ships-of-war there were burnt to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. At this port (New York) all vessels are prevented from proceeding to sea between sunset and sunrise; and guard-boats are stationed at the outlets to see that no provisions or munitions of war are allowed to be sent to the enemy's ports.

The ships at the Navy Yard at Brooklyn are being equipped for

sea with all possible speed. These consist of the *Wabash* and *Roanoke*, screw steam frigates, and the *Savannah*. The *Percy* brig went to sea yesterday. Orders have been given to fit out a large number of gunboats of light draft: and the merchants of the Northern ports will supply numerous effective vessels to aid the blockade of Southern ports and act in union with the Federal naval forces.

But, now that this war had been provoked by the leaders of the secession movement, it is, I think, quite certain that the North will not allow it to be terminated until they have completely crushed rebellious uprising against the authority of the Government; and either coerce the seceded States back into the Union, or dictate the terms and conditions of their separation from it.

Although the North has been taken at a disadvantage—has been by the wily plans and pre-arrangements of the Secessionists stripped of arms, of which they are now in great want for their volunteers—there cannot be a question that they will, nevertheless, effectually suppress the rebellion. They have, after long and patient forbearance entered upon the struggle forced upon them with a determination never to bring it to a close until they shall have effectually prevented the possibility, for a long time to come, of the recurrence of any similar attempt to subvert the Constitution of the Republic.

For my own part in this view of the case, I believe that the most merciful course, and, in the end, the most salutary results will depend on the Federal Government placing itself as speedily as possible in such a commanding attitude of power as to render further resistance to its authority utterly hopeless. I believe that the escape of the White population of the South from the horrors of servile insurrections (of the commencement of which there are already rumours) renders it necessary that the Federal Government should put out its whole strength, as it is preparing to do, at the earliest moment; and thus anticipate the useless wasting by the Southern States of the strength and means which they will now, more than ever, require to keep their Slave population in subjection.

The National honour vindicated, the Constitution upheld, and the Government established in its supremacy, I have no fears that the Southern States will be unfairly dealt with. Motives of interest no less than magnanimity, under such circumstances, will secure to the Southern States, whether they continue in the union, or a separation be agreed on, everything to which they have a just right or claim.

A prolongation of the contest, I need hardly say, will be attended

with most disastrous consequences to other nations, and especially to our own commercial interests. *In view of this certainty, and under the consciousness of the vast importance of the crisis, pardon my presumption, My Lord, if I venture to suggest the consideration of the expediency of a prompt interposition by Her Majesty's Government by way, if not of a mediator (which perhaps would hardly now be accepted), then by affording to the lawful Government of the United States such a consistent and effective demonstration of sympathy and aid as will have the merciful effect of shortening this most unnatural and horrid strife. It is unnecessary to waste a word on the many considerations which I believe would influence Her Majesty's Government to adopt such a line of policy, in so far as it consistently may; but, of this I feel assured, knowing what I do of the American people of the North and West, that, whether countenanced by England or not, they will never lay down arms until they have entirely subdued and extinguished this rebellion. The issue raised, in fact, is one which leaves them no alternative; while on the other hand, I need not say how adverse and revolting to the spirit and feelings of the Age and of our own nation, would be the triumph of the principles on which the founders of the new Confederacy have based their Government.*

Praying Your Lordship's pardon for these observations which have run to greater length than I intended.

I have, etc.,

E. M. ARCHIBALD.

The manner in which England acted with regard to the recognition of the Southern Confederacy as belligerents, thus bringing into existence many perplexing and difficult problems arising out of her very precipitate action—is too well known to call for comment here.

On the 2nd of May, 1861, Lord John Russell declared in the House of Commons that it was the policy of his Government to avoid taking any part in the lamentable contest now raging in the United States. "We have not," he said, "been involved in any way in this contest by any act, or by giving any advice in the matter, and for God's sake, let us, if possible, keep out of it."

Four days later, on May 6th, formal recognition of the Southern Confederacy as belligerents was announced

to the House of Commons. The United States Minister, Charles Francis Adams, had not, at that period, arrived in London, and accordingly Mr. Dallas, the former American Minister under President Buchanan, whom Mr. Adams was to supersede, on the 11th of May officially communicated to the Foreign Secretary President Lincoln's proclamation of the blockade of the Southern ports together with a copy of Secretary Seward's circular regarding privateers. A copy of this last had already reached the Foreign Office through Lord Lyons. Consul Archibald's dispatch, however, sent from New York on April 25th, two days before the dispatches of Lord Lyons, which left New York on the 27th by the U.S. mail steamer *Fulton*, must even then have also been in the hands of the authorities.

There was, in consequence of this—not unnaturally—a widespread outburst of popular indignation in the United States at what was termed the “unseemly haste” of the British Government in taking action in the matter of recognizing the Confederate States as a belligerent nation before the arrival of the accredited minister from the Union. “The bitter denunciations,” says Charles Adams in his life of his father Charles Francis Adams, “now poured forth on Great Britain, knew no limit, but,” he adds, “there rang through it, distinctly perceptible, a well-grounded note of alarm.”¹

It is not within the power or the purpose of the writer of this memoir to offer any comment upon the political action of Great Britain in those trying days. What must be obvious to all is, that when diplomatic relations between two countries are strained almost to the breaking point, such a state of affairs does not render the position of their accredited representatives what might be called

¹See *Life of Charles Francis Adams* by his son C. F. Adams.

—in the terms of the old hymn—a “bed of flowery ease.” Lord Lyons did not find his tenure of office in Washington any the less strenuous, nor did any of Her Britannic Majesty’s consuls in the United States find their tasks in any degree lightened by the threatening and uncertain relations between England and America. Consul Archibald’s position in New York was no exception to this rule; and realizing as he did that the North was in the right and must ultimately prevail, he must often have deplored the unfortunate attitude of his Government towards the American situation. Perhaps it was, on the whole, fortunate for his own self-respect and peace of mind that circumstances had given him an opportunity of unburdening himself to his superiors in office, and of stating to them frankly, though modestly, his opinion of the policy they ought to—but unfortunately did not—pursue. Unauthorized and uncalled for as that opinion may have been, he must have had the satisfaction of realizing that, so far as his personal convictions were concerned, he had cleared his conscience and delivered his soul. Officially, of course, he was compelled to reflect the attitude of his Government and to maintain the dignity of his office. During the four years of the Civil War, many of his friends and of those with whom he had business relations either withdrew their friendship or regarded him coldly and with disapproval. Always keenly sensitive and emotional in temperament, he could not fail to be deeply affected by this atmosphere of suspicion.

It was, therefore, probably this attitude of disapproval, wholly unmerited as it was on his part, that led him to desire earnestly to be vindicated, if not to the general public, for whose opinion he cared but little, at least in the esteem of men whose friendship and approbation he valued very highly. It was no doubt with some such

thought in his mind, that Mr. Archibald, some years after the war was over and the first bitterness and animosity had given place to calmer and more friendly relations between America and England, sent to a group of chosen friends, under the seal of strict confidence, copies of this dispatch of his to the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, announcing the outbreak of Secession.

Their letters to him, acknowledging this document and discussing its important bearing upon the subsequent events which so often nearly plunged the two nations into a disastrous war, serve to show the manner in which they regarded the position which he took in the matter, and which he had the courage to declare openly to his superiors in office.

This dispatch (No. 29)—although not technically “official” intelligence, inasmuch as it was not communicated by the accredited Minister (Lord Lyons) from Washington—was the first actual news of the outbreak of the Civil War which reached the British Foreign Office. It was received in London on the 5th of May, nine days before the proclamation of neutrality was issued, and four days after President Lincoln’s proclamation of blockade had been formally communicated to the British government by Mr. Dallas. In this connection it may be well to quote the following passage relating to evidence before the International Court, which, in 1872, sat at Geneva, Switzerland, to arbitrate in the matter of the *Alabama* claims.

The proclamation of neutrality was published fourteen days after the receipt in London of the news that Fort Sumter had been reduced by bombardment, that the President of the United States had called out 75,000 men, and that Mr. Jefferson Davis had taken measures for issuing letters of marque; twelve days after receipt of intelligence that President Lincoln had published a proclamation of blockade, *nine days after*

*a copy of that proclamation had been received from Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at New York, and three days after the same proclamation had been officially communicated to Her Majesty's Secretary of State by the United States Minister, Mr. Dallas.*¹

Thus, whether officially or not, the British Foreign Office authorities were fully informed—at the time when the announcement was made in the House of Commons on May 6th that belligerent rights would be conceded to the Confederacy—of the progress of the Civil War and of the policy of the United States Government in regard to it. Just in what spirit the warning of Consul Archibald was regarded by his superiors is not known. That a mere consul should be bold enough to offer advice on any subject to a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was itself an unprecedented liberty. In modern parlance: “It isn’t done.” But that he should, however modestly, venture to suggest to the leaders of his own government what their foreign policy ought to be, and to warn them as to disastrous consequences if they persisted in what he, personally, could not but regard as an altogether wrong and mistaken attitude—this indeed might well be deemed by officialdom a striking piece of presumption! Ignored, of course, it might be, and was; and the only wonder is that the consul was not severely snubbed. Taking into consideration his timid and retiring disposition, he must indeed have felt an unusually strong call of duty to impel him to take such an unheard of liberty as that of offering his private and personal opinion as to the course which he considered the right one for his country to pursue.

On April 27th, when forwarding Lord Lyons’ dispatch, Mr. Archibald wrote to the British Secretary of State as follows:

¹Moore's *International Arbitrations*. Vol. I. p. 595.

To the British Secretary of State

BRITISH CONSULATE,

NEW YORK, *April 27th, 1861.*

My Lord:

Referring to my dispatch No. 29 of the 24th instant, I have the honour to acquaint Your Lordship that I detained the *Persia* until 6 a.m. on Thursday the 25th instant for Lord Lyons' dispatches, but to no purpose. I received them at last, yesterday at 1 p.m., they having been brought on by Mr. Walter Barclay, Her Majesty's vice-consul at Baltimore, and I now forward them by the *Fulton*, United States mail steamer, which leaves for Southampton this forenoon.

Mr. Barclay left Washington on the afternoon of Tuesday last in charge of the dispatches, and came through Baltimore. He reports that great apprehensions of an attack on Washington were entertained at the time he left; but that the reinforcements which must since have arrived at the Capital will have rendered it safe for the present.

He states that the newspaper reports of the war feeling and excitement at Baltimore are greatly exaggerated. That order is maintained and the arms are locked up and guarded against seizure by the mob. That the Union sentiment is, for the present, entirely subdued, but that a large majority of the inhabitants, including the wealthy and intelligent portion, are only waiting for sufficient encouragement and protection to avow their loyalty to the Union. That at the election which took place three days ago, hardly any of the respectable portion of the population took part in it. That only one ticket was put up, that of "Southern rights," and but a limited number of votes were cast. He says there is no danger of an attack on Washington by Maryland troops; but, on the other hand, there is serious danger of rioting and outrage at Baltimore owing to the great destitution of the labouring classes, many of whom are in a state of starvation. That business is entirely suspended and great gloom hanging over the city, many families making their escape as speedily as possible in order to get out of harm's way, and that he himself had brought his family to Philadelphia for safety.

I transmit, addressed to the Foreign Office, copies of the daily papers which contain details of the military and naval movements.

Regiments are being moved forward as speedily as possible, and by the first of May there ought to be at least 20,000 troops concentrated in the Capital. The military ardour here appears unabated,

but there is a great want of method of management in the administrative department, and already the troops sent forward are suffering from the want of ordinary supplies.

Mr. Barclay brings no letters to myself from Lord Lyons and thinks they were omitted to be handed to him. That Lord Lyons told him he wished to telegraph the Admiral (Sir A. Milne) or wished to write to me to telegraph the Admiral and also consulted Mr. Barclay about the depth of water at Baltimore and Washington and spoke of his desire to have one or two vessels of war.

On Thursday, the 25th instant, I forwarded to Rear-Admiral Milne at Bermuda, by sailing vessel, a dispatch of which I beg leave to enclose a copy; and trust your Lordship will approve of my having done so. From what Mr. Barclay reports to me, I appear to have anticipated Lord Lyons' wishes; and as opportunities to Bermuda are rare, the only communication being by sailing vessel, I thought it advisable not to lose the one which presented itself to me.

The public mind is still much excited here, but not so much so as in the early part of the week. In New England, and especially in Massachusetts, the military preparations in support of the Government are going forward with more earnestness and system than in New York. It is very difficult to foretell what will be the result. I am not without hope that when a strong force is concentrated in Washington, Maryland subdued, and the Government in an attitude to carry the war south, calmer counsels may prevail and some turn of affairs may admit of an armistice, and the calling of a National Convention with a view to a separation. At present, however, I must admit there is but a faint prospect of this.

I have numerous applications, personal and by letters, from British residents in various quarters, making inquiries about an application for protection. Among others I beg leave to enclose a copy of a letter from a highly respectable British resident at Cincinnati, where it might be advisable to establish a vice-consulate or a consular agency, during the continuance of the war at all events.

I will transmit a copy of the letter to Lord Lyons, but I send it now among other reasons as it gives some account of the state of affairs at Cincinnati.

I have, etc.

E. M. ARCHIBALD.

As has been said, Mr. Archibald, several years after

the close of the Civil War, sent copies of his dispatches to the British Government to leading American publicists. In reply he received most gratifying letters, that of John Jay, grandson of the first Chief Justice of the United States, and for some years U. S. Minister to Austria, is here given in full.

From John Jay

121 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK,
January 18th, 1869.

My dear Mr. Archibald:

I re-enclose with many thanks the copy of your dispatch of April 24th, 1861, which I have read with great interest.

Its clear recital of the events which were then crowding upon each other with such startling rapidity, has more than a historic value, for it exhibits the basis on which you rested the broad and statesmanlike view of the American question, and of the true policy of England, which you so frankly and forcibly urged upon Her Majesty's Government. Your clear foresight as to the results, based upon an intelligent appreciation of the character and honour of the loyal American people—your assurance to Lord Russell that the men of the North and West would never lay down their arms, whether countenanced by England or not, until they had entirely subdued and extinguished the rebellion, your suggestion that Her Majesty's Government might, by affording to the lawful Governments of the United States a consistent and effective demonstration of sympathy and aid, have the merciful effect of shattering that most unnatural and horrid strife, and your reminder that the triumph of the principles on which the founders of the New Confederacy had based their government, were adverse and revolting to the spirit and feelings of the age and of the British Nation, and your prediction of the magnanimity with which the Southern States would be treated by the American Government when the National honor had been vindicated, the Constitution upheld and the National power established—all this advice so completely vindicated by history, does honor—infinite honor—to your clear and correct appreciation of the character and objects of the struggle, the relative power of the opposing forces and its inevitable result.

It must be more gratifying to you to re-read this letter with its sound recommendations and grave warnings. when you remember how

completely the statesmen of England and of this continent blundered in their solution of what they called "the American Problem."

But one regret only has awakened in my mind, by this reading of your dispatch—I have attempted to find some apology for the course of the English Cabinet in their hasty recognition of the demonstration of sympathy "with the lawful Government of the United States" in the erroneous advice they might have received from this side of the water.

But your dispatch leaves no room for such an apology. It told the simple truth with the simplicity and manliness that the emergency demanded. You did all, that in your position, you could do for the honor of England, and the cause of the Constitutional freedom, and the preservation of the international friendship between Great Britain and America.

The blindness of others, but makes your fidelity in this regard more conspicuous, and, as an American, I most heartily thank you.

I am, dear Mr. Archibald,

yours always faithfully,

JOHN JAY

Other eminent Americans wrote equally enthusiastic comments on the dispatches. William Cullen Bryant, the well known poet said: "You saw further, and more clearly than the Government you served, and if that Government in any respect, took a hesitating or mistaken view of the probable result of our Civil War, it was no fault of yours." Charles P. Daly, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New York State (1871-1886) said: "If Lord John Russell had acted upon your suggestion at the close of the dispatch, he would have shown himself to be a statesman, England would never have been called upon to pay an indemnity, and the relations of the two countries would have been put upon a basis of mutual interest and friendship that would have been lasting." A. A. Low, President of the New York Chamber of Commerce, remarked: "I do not see how your duty could have been performed more honourably or more acceptably to loyal

Americans.' Letters from Peter Cooper, founder of the Cooper Union Institute, August Belmont, financier and publicist, Charles E. Butler, a prominent lawyer, Edward S. Jaffray, and others,—are in the same strain.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BRITISH CONSUL AND THE SLAVE TRADE

DURING the first three years of Consul Archibald's service he was much occupied in detecting and reporting to his Government the operations of persons engaged in the slave-trade. Few people then dreamed, and fewer still at the present day are aware of the great extent to which this abominable traffic was carried on, not alone from the Southern States but, with the greatest impunity, from the port of New York itself. Large amounts of capital were embarked in these enterprises, mostly by foreigners who made the United States in general and New York in particular the seat of their operations. Many expeditions were fitted out also from the West India ports and from the continent of Europe, financed by parties in New York. Mr. Archibald was enabled to report all, or nearly all of these expeditions to his Government, and much correspondence on the matter took place between the two countries which, however, failed to produce any marked improvement in these undesirable conditions, owing mainly to the fact that no mutual right of search existed under which suspected vessels might be examined on the high seas. For his services in connection with these reports Mr. Archibald received the personal thanks of Lord John Russell, at that time Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.¹

¹Lord John Russell, in his speech in the House of Lords on May 12th, 1862, referred in a very complimentary manner to the completeness of these reports by means of which over one hundred of these expeditions had been reported to the British Government.

In 1862 Mr. Archibald was authorized by Lord John Russell to proceed to Paris for the purpose of conferring with the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, in an endeavour to bring about a treaty for suppressing the slave-trade similar to the one negotiated with the United States. This, however, did not materialize, for, though the Emperor Napoleon III and M. Theuvenal were both favourable to such a treaty, they hesitated to move in the matter, on account of the unfavourable sentiment prevailing in France on the question of the right of search.

The first treaty between Great Britain and the United States which contained any provision relating to the slave-trade was the Treaty of Ghent—signed December 24th, 1814—which brought an end to the War of 1812. This contains a clause declaring that the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice and that both His Majesty the King and the United States were desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, and that to this end it was agreed upon that both nations should use their best endeavours to accomplish an object greatly to be desired. Later, in 1842, a clause in the Ashburton Treaty stipulated that each country should equip and maintain in service on the coast of Africa, an adequate squadron for the purpose of the suppression of the slave-trade. The squadrons to be independent of each other; the two governments, however, stipulating forces as should enable them to act in concert and to act most effectually.

Recognizing that the facilities for carrying on the traffic in slaves on the coast of Africa and the temptations for pursuing this traffic successfully by the fraudulent use of flags of other nations, were very great, the parties to this treaty agreed that they would unite in *remonstrating* with any or all foreign powers within whose

possessions in Africa a market for slaves was allowed to exist, with a view to urging upon them the duty and propriety of abolishing this hideous traffic effectually "at once and forever."

In principle, and from an ethical point of view, this treaty was all that could be desired. In practice, however, it failed lamentably, and the rock upon which it was wrecked was the absence of any clause, up to 1862, giving to the cruisers of the two high contracting parties the mutual right of search where suspicion attached to vessels sailing under either the British or the American flag.

Moral suasion, as applied to the foreign powers owning territory in Africa, having proved as unavailing as remonstrances addressed to persons in authority known to be protecting the interests of those engaged in fitting out these abominable slave-trade expeditions, the two countries, alarmed by the extent to which the traffic was being carried, once more got together in April, 1862, and a treaty was negotiated between Mr. Seward and Lord Lyons and proclaimed on June 7th, following, embracing the mutual right of search. This treaty provided that certain war-vessels of the respective navies could visit such merchant-vessels of the two nations as might, on reasonable grounds, be suspected of being engaged in the African slave-trade and might detain such vessels till they could be brought to trial. The rights of legitimate merchant shipping were protected by a clause providing that this right of search should never be exercised except by vessels of war, authorized for that object; and that the right of search and detention should be operative only within twenty miles of the coast of Africa and within thirty leagues of the coast of Cuba. In order to bring offending ships to justice with as little delay as possible.

there were established three Mixed Courts of Justice, formed of an equal number of individuals of the two nations, named for this purpose by their respective governments: these courts to reside one at Sierra Leone, Africa; one, at the Cape of Good Hope; and one, at New York. These courts were empowered to judge of cases submitted to them, and no appeal was allowed from their decision. The negroes found on board of a vessel condemned by Mixed Courts of Justice were to be set at liberty and to remain free.

Of the court established at the port of New York, the British Consul, Mr. Archibald, was appointed Judge, under the Royal Commission bearing the signature of Victoria and dated 1862. The English arbitrator was the Hon. Dudley Ryder: while the son of the British Consul, Edward Brenton Archibald, was appointed to fill the office of clerk to the court. On the part of America, the Hon. Truman Smith, U.S. Senator, was the United States Judge, while Cephas Brainerd, a well known lawyer of New York filled the responsible post of United States Arbitrator, and George P. Andrews acted as clerk. The parties were duly sworn into office and took their seats with imposing and suitable ceremonies; but, as by this time the question of slavery was being adjudicated upon by the stern arbitrament of the Civil War, the duties of the newly established courts were negligible; and after several official meetings, which were spread out over a period of some eight years, the Government, in October, 1870, abolished the Court and extinguished the Commission. A firm and lasting friendship, however, had sprung up between the British and the American officials of this court, the effects of which were felt for many years.

The treaty itself is remarkable as having foreshadowed in some respects the principle upon which is based

the present idea of the League of Nations. It embodied the joint effort of the two most powerful nations of the world to protect the liberties of, and to rescue from injury and degradation a weak and helpless people. Its high purpose was to demonstrate to all the world the determination of Britain and of America to unite in putting a stop to the illicit traffic in human flesh and blood. Whether or not the outbreak of the Civil War had occurred at that juncture, these two great peoples stood, shoulder to shoulder prepared to uphold the cause of the downtrodden and oppressed. Surely, in this regard, if in no other, this treaty may be regarded as unique in the annals of diplomacy. Neither party sought anything for their own ends, but rather, with a chivalric sense of justice and with compassion for their suffering brethren of the African race, they united to protect and rescue the oppressed as truly, and from as lofty motives, as ever did the knights of olden days.

Many years after, when all these events had passed into oblivion, the writer of this memoir met by happy chance, in a remote part of Canada, Mr. Cephas Brainerd, who had held the post of American arbitrator in the Mixed Commission Slave-Trade Court at New York, of which her father had been the British judge. She wrote to him on the subject not long afterwards and he very kindly sent her the following letter with permission to make use of it.

From Mr. Cephas Brainerd to Mrs. Charles Archibald

Madam:

I have your favour of the 3rd of May, making enquiries in regard to your father, the late Sir Edward M. Archibald. . . .

Sir Edward was a much older man than myself, and it could hardly be expected that my relations with him would assume a very intimate character. I remember, however, very well, the first time I met him

which was before my admission to the Bar. I had occasion to call upon him, with the principal of the office in which I was a student, and his courtesy and disposition to oblige made a very strong impression on me. I recall the exceeding precision and caution with which he directed the business with which we had to do and the careful attention which was given to the minutest details. . . .

I was a member of the Mixed Court for the Suppression of the Slave-Trade, of which he was the head on the part of Great Britain, and recollect meeting him on several occasions in regard to that, but have now no distinct impression of anything that passed between us. . . .

An examination of the Treaty (which was concluded April 7th, 1862, ratified May 20th, 1862, and proclaimed June 7th, 1862, and supplemented by an additional article February 17th, 1863), together with the regulations of the Court, which the Treaty established, indicates the greatest caution and forecast in the preparation, and a strong disposition to have the Treaty thoroughly effectual for the suppression of the slave-trade. The expectations of our Government are indicated in the quotation which I make from a dispatch from Secretary Seward of the Department of State to Mr. Adams, our Minister to England:

"I have just signed with Lord Lyons the Treaty which I trust will be approved by the Senate and by the British Government. If ratified, it will bring the African slave-trade to an end immediately and forever. Had such a Treaty been made in 1808, there would now have been no sedition here, and no disagreement between the United States and foreign nations."

I cannot doubt but that Great Britain entertained like expectations. It was supposed that there would be occasion for considerable activity on the part of this Court, and careful preparations were made. The Court was regularly organized, Sir Edward was present, as were also the American judge, the British arbitrator and myself. A clerk was appointed (George P. Andrews, now one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of this State).

I remember very well the proceedings upon the organization, the reading of the commissions, and the order for their record, and the adjournment to a fixed day. My recollection is that the United States Marshal of the District including the City of New York, was made the Marshal of the Court. It assembled on two or three occasions subsequently, but the condition of the country assumed such

a character within a very short time, by reason of the progress of the War of the Rebellion, that no slavers were ever fitted out, so far as was known, and none certainly were ever captured, and practically the Court did nothing. At the time of the formation of the Treaty, however, it was not supposed that the important results I have indicated would follow so speedily, without intervention in pursuance of its provisions.

Just prior to the breaking out of the war the slave-trade had been extremely rife and it was said, and probably with truth, that the City of New York was its headquarters. The Convention was therefore very important, in view of the disposition of the two Governments, as indicated in the dispatch of Mr. Seward, which I have quoted, that a competent tribunal should be established in New York—competent not only as matter of law, but also competent by reason of the character and acquirements of the members of the Court—for the execution of the Treaty, which contemplated the most radical measures for the suppression of the traffic. The regulations prescribed the most stringent rules of evidence and in certain aspects threw on the implicated vessel the burden of proof of innocence in order to secure exculpation. I know that much thought and study was given by the persons connected with the Court to the matters which came within its jurisdiction, to the end that a prompt application of the remedies which the Treaty prescribed should be made. The progress of the war, however, was such that these researches did not become valuable for practical use. I know that Sir Edward, as did the other members of the Court, appreciated very highly the responsibility which the positions assigned to them were supposed to involve.

In all my intercourse with Sir Edward in regard to these matters, he met me and the other gentlemen connected with them, as he met me on the first occasion I have mentioned, and his conduct impressed upon me the sense of his appreciation of the responsible position which he occupied, the magnitude of the duties which it involved; his firmness, courtesy, and gentleness seemed unfailing. . . .

I did notice the dispatch to Earl Granville referred to in your letter, and since it was received have carefully re-read it. In all respects it is a remarkable paper, and one of which anyone connected with your father may well be proud. Reading it now it seems prophecy fulfilled. It shows that your father thoroughly understood our people and fully appreciated the real situation. I am sure his conduct throughout the whole of that trying period, the War of the Rebellion,

was in harmony with the spirit of that letter. I need hardly add that our people had the highest regard for your father, not because he in any way forgot his duty or obligation to his own Government, but because he was true to the important office he held; just toward us, and honest, courteous, and manly in all his intercourse with our people.

With high regard, I am,

Your obedient Servant,

CEPHAS BRAINERD.

MRS. CHARLES ARCHIBALD.

CHAPTER IX

THE BENJAMIN LETTER

THE correspondence files of the Consulates of any foreign Power contain, no doubt, a number of communications which, to say the least, may be considered to be as startling as they are wild and visionary. Consul Archibald's "odd file" contained many documents of this nature, some comic, others serious, and not a few romantic, but all alike futile and often absurd.

Just prior to the opening of the War of the Secession, Mr. Archibald received one morning the following letter, which, although anonymous, has been considered by some to have been written by a prominent member of the cabinet of Jefferson Davis. Whoever its author, it certainly breathes forth the most startling revolutionary sentiments.

"Benjamin" to the British Consul in New York

NEW YORK, August 11th, 1860.

Dear Sir:

I exceedingly regret your absence from New York at this time, as the important object of my visit is to have a personal and confidential interview with you.

My apology for this breach of conventional usage, in presuming to address you without the formality of an introduction, may be pardoned in consequence of the very extraordinary nature of the business which induced me to approach you without the friendly intervention of a third party. Indeed, it would not only have been unwise but actually dangerous for me to have even borne a letter of introduction.

Having assumed the whole responsibility of this very critical step, I cannot use too much caution and circumspection to insure my personal safety and the successful accomplishment of the mission I have in view. Therefore, I prefer trusting my own judgment in approaching a genteel stranger on such business, to that of bringing into my service the scrawls of Governors or members of Congress with whom, perhaps, you are as little acquainted as myself.

The official confidence which your Government seems to repose in you, by trusting to your charge its great commercial affairs in the most important city on this continent, I think is sufficient to warrant me in trusting to your discretion, patriotism, and loyalty a secret of the greatest importance and interest to Her Britannic Majesty's Kingdom.

The present disastrous condition of political affairs in the United States (which has no parallel in the past history of the country) seems to have split the great Democratic party into many contending factions, all of which are so hungry after the public spoils that its disintegrated parts render them as easy prey to the opposing Black Republicans.

The doctrines maintained by the Republican party are so unsuitable to the great interests of the whole South that an election of their candidate (which is almost certain) amounts to a total destruction of all plantations interests, which the South, as sure as there is a God in Heaven, will not submit to. Sooner than yield to the arbitrary dictates of traitrous allies and false friends, who have proven recreant to the solemn obligations of our Old Constitution, we will either secede from the Union and form a separate Government, or, upon certain conditions, at once return to our allegiance to Great Britain, our Mother-country.

Many, very many of the most wealthy and influential planters throughout the South have already discussed this alternative, in the event of the election of Mr. Lincoln, and the popularity of the proposition seems to pass from one to another almost with elastic rapidity. It is true they have made no public demonstration of their intentions, for such a course would be attended with direful consequences at this time, *but the pear will be fully ripe before November.*

Gossiping newsmongers and babbling pothouse politicians are not allowed to know what is going on in their very midst.

Select dinner parties come off every day throughout the whole South, and not one of them ends without a strong accession to our forces.

I have even heard some of them address each other by titles already.

My object in approaching you is to cultivate your friendship and procure your co-operation in aid of accomplishing this grand object of returning to the dominion of our fathers' Kingdom. Through your kindness and loyalty to your Queen, I am desirous of properly approaching Her Majesty's Minister at Washington City, with a view to the accomplishment of this great end. If you will condescend to grant me the necessary assistance for this purpose, you will soon receive the meritorious reward of your most gracious Queen, and the hearty cheer from every true Briton's heart for having aided in the return of the National Prodigals.

Reposing that confidence in you which your position in life warrants me in doing, you must at present excuse me for not signing my name for fear of an accident. This much you may know, I am a Southerner, and am a member of Congress, whose untiring perseverance will never cease until the object I have thus boldly undertaken is fully accomplished. Be so kind as to answer this as early as possible. Allow me a personal interview, and, if you cannot come to New York, address your answer to "Benjamin," in care of some one at your office.

Whether or not the writer of this most extraordinary effusion really intended it to be taken in good faith by Her Majesty's representative at New York or if it was merely designed as a trap to embarrass the new British Consul in his already difficult position, cannot now be determined. The strong hint of a material reward for his services should he become the mediator between Great Britain and what the writer felicitously alluded to as "National Prodigals" placed this effusion on pretty much the same plane as a communication received later—after the death of the Prince Consort—from an impecunious but ambitious widower in one of the New England States, who, relying on the British Consul's good offices, sent, through him, an offer of marriage to the widowed Queen of England, informing her at the same time that, "such was his admiration for her majesty," he had already called

two of his five daughters "Victoria" after her! This modest but aspiring gentleman also more than hinted at a substantial "reward" should the British Consul be successful in bringing about this match—for he held out as a glittering bait to him the promise of a peerage! There is, however, a certain historical value in the anonymous "Benjamin" letter which the proposal of the more ingenuous but better authenticated correspondent from New England failed to possess.

It is interesting, at this date, as a revelation of the bewildering state of unrest and agitation which, at that juncture, possessed the minds of the Southern population. That even the bare suggestion of such a reactionary idea as the return of the State of Virginia to the allegiance of the Crown of England should have obtained any sort of ascendancy, is, of itself, sufficiently extraordinary. That it should have taken definite shape and form in a practical suggestion presumably made by a member of Congress, who as such was the spokesman for others—was still more arresting. The weak point in this communication, however, was, of course, its anonymity, and this fact defeated the whole purpose of the letter.

The unknown "Benjamin" received from Consul Archibald an indignant refusal to receive any further communications upon the subject, and the original letter was sent through Lord Lyons to the Foreign Office; but Consul Archibald kept a copy of it, which he placed among many other weird documents or what he used to call his "odd file." At the close of his service in New York, in 1883, he sent a copy of the so-called "Benjamin" letter to his friend John Jay, as one of the "curiosities of literature" acquired during his long term of service as British Consul and Consul-General in New York City.

Mr. Jay's acknowledgement and most significant comment on the letter is as follows:

From John Jay

191 SECOND AVENUE, May 1st, 1883.

Dear Sir Edward:

I return with many thanks the curious relic of the Secession Movement, which I have read with interest. What the writer says of the disposition of his friends to return to their allegiance to Great Britain and of their having begun already to address each other by titles, recalls a passage in one of Dr. Russell's letters from South Carolina, dated April 30, 1861, to the London "Times" which I copy on the next page.

Faithfully yours,

JOHN JAY.

(Extract from a letter of Dr. Wm. H. Russell to *The Times*, London, from South Carolina, April 30, 1861.)

From all quarters have come to my ear echoes of the same voice; it may be feigned, but there is no discord in the note, and it sounds in wonderful strength and monotony all over the country. Shades of George III, of North, of Johnson! of all who contended against the great rebellion which tore these colonies from England, can you hear the chorus which rings through the State of Marion, Sumter and Pinckney, and not clap your ghostly hands in triumph? That voice says: "If we could only get one of the royal race of England to rule over us we should be content."

The writer of the above extract had been sent out from England as the special correspondent of *The Times* having previously acted as such during the Crimean War. He was a man pre-eminently equipped with the necessary qualifications for such a purpose: a keen observer, a trenchant and convincing writer. Furnished with good introductions, he was well received in the best circles of New York and Washington society, where he met daily men and women of every shade of political thought and opinion. Certainly his observations, as embodied in the above extract, would seem to bear out the

assertions in the "Benjamin" letter, that the heart and mind of a large portion of Southern society was turning towards a return to their ancient allegiance to the British Crown. Wild and improbable as such a project now appears to us, there must nevertheless have been some foundation for all these statements. The whole project as set forth in the "Benjamin" letter seen at this distance of time, appears to have been psychologically on a par with the extraordinary dispatch addressed by Secretary Seward to Mr. Adams, the U.S. Minister to London, in which to the amazement and consternation of that keen and sagacious statesman, he actually advocated provoking a general European War upon America as one means of averting the calamity of a breach between the North and the South. Desperate remedies, both of these suggestions, serving to show the panic of perplexity which then possessed the public mind.

It is, of course, a well known fact that the authorship of the so-called "Benjamin" letter has been attributed to the late Judah P. Benjamin, one of the most brilliant lawyers of that day; and who, besides being a Senator was Attorney-General to the Southern Confederacy and guide and counsellor to President Jefferson Davis. After the close of the Civil War, a reward was offered by the Union Government for his capture, but he managed to escape to the seacoast after many adventures. Friendly strangers helped him to get on board a small vessel from which he was transferred to a steamer bound for France.

Proceeding to England, he was well received in London society, and settled down to read for admission to the English Bar, to which he was eventually called, and of which he became a prominent member. A Jew by birth, he is said to have possessed few of their racial pe-

cularities except their exceptional ability. The memoirs of Lady St. Helier mention his charm of manner and his brilliant conversational gifts.

This "Benjamin" letter has already been published in the memoir of the late Thurlow Weed, by his grandson, Thurlow Weed Barnes, where it appears under the caption of "A Bit of Secret History." Mr. Barnes states that it was found, carefully preserved, among his distinguished grandfather's papers, and that the copy came into Mr. Weed's possession shortly after the war "through an English gentleman whose eminent character and distinguished attainments entitle him to the high regard in which he is held in England and America." Mr. Barnes has evidently no doubt of the authenticity of the letter, and believes it to have been written by Judah P. Benjamin. The internal evidence, he considers—comparing the document with the fiery and often fantastic utterances of Mr. Benjamin in the Senate—is overwhelmingly in favour of his having been the author of this extraordinary effusion. At this distance of time, it is hardly possible to pronounce judgment with any degree of fairness upon the anonymous letter of which the outstanding purpose was plainly an intention to make trouble between the United States and England.

HUMAN INTEREST STORIES

CHAPTER X

HUMAN INTEREST STORIES

IN the earlier years of the Civil War, scarcely a day passed without its perplexing problems, all arising out of the turmoil of military activities, and the Consulate was besieged by persons claiming exemption from conscription on the ground of their being British subjects. Many of these latter were, strange to say, flourishing Irish-Americans, who, in peaceful times were noted for their repudiation of the perfidious Mother-country, for whose protection they now loudly and insistently clamored! Occasionally, also, harmless English tourists, whose last thought was to get themselves embroiled in any way in the general tumult, had to be extricated, at the cost of much time and trouble, from situations which, at that period of suspicion and unrest, were more than doubtful; and which, in more than one instance led to their arrest and incarceration in military prisons.

Among the latter mishaps was the case of a young Englishman of good family, who, shortly before the declaration of hostilities between the North and the South, had arrived in Charlestown, supplied with letters of introduction to some of the best families in that attractive city. Finding his surroundings very pleasant and the society there most hospitable, he settled down to spend the winter and spring of 1860 in the Southern Capital, and to enjoy the attentions which were lavished upon him; and in particular, the fascinations of the lovely Southern

girls, at once so winning and so innocently guileless. But, alas! he dallied too long at Capua! Suddenly the thunder-clouds burst and the fall of Sumter was the signal for the arousing of the North. It became daily more and more difficult to obtain passes through the lines of the opposing armies, and Mr. R., who was obliged to be in New York by a certain time, now found himself in a very unfortunate situation. At last, having managed to obtain the necessary papers, he went to make his adieux to some of the many kind ladies who had been his hostesses during his visit to the city. The charming daughter of one of these ladies, to whose bright eyes he had fallen a victim, begged him so prettily to take a small parcel for her to a dear friend of hers in Philadelphia, that he could scarcely refuse so simple a request; and, foolishly, and to his subsequent undoing, he consented to grant her this apparently trifling favour. She assured him that it contained nothing more suspicious than a small piece of fancy-work she had just finished for her friend.

So Mr. R. departed and, passing safely through the Confederate lines, found himself sternly halted and the subject of a grilling examination when he came to the outposts of the army of the North. Interrogated as to whether he was carrying any contraband of war on his person, he firmly denied the fact, adding, in his innocence, that the only thing not for his own personal use in his whole outfit was a small packet, given him by one young lady for another in Philadelphia containing, he believed, a bit of fancy-work. The packet being produced and opened, was found to contain, in lieu of fancy-work, important information addressed to Southern sympathizers in the North. This discovery proved the ruin of young Mr. R. who was at once seized as a spy and came very near being executed on the spot. Claiming to be a Bri-

tish subject, his case was, however, deferred, and he was thrown into prison and closely confined. Many months passed, and much correspondence was carried on between Washington and New York on his behalf. During the latter part of his imprisonment, he was an inmate of Fortress LaFayette in New York Harbour, where he received many visits from Consul Archibald, who was working indefatigably on his behalf with the authorities. The crowded condition of the casemates in these military prisons at the outset of the war was deplorable, and the health of poor Mr. R. suffered greatly from his close confinement. When, after many months the happy day of his release arrived, he was little more than a skeleton. So wan and wasted did he appear that the kind-hearted Consul took him to his own house until he should be in better shape to return to his home in England.

Then, too, there were innumerable questions arising out of the seizure of ships and cargoes claiming the protection of the British flag; and all of them involving incessant correspondence, and often sharp controversies with the Federal and State governments. Vexed questions of allegiance and naturalization, and constant and never ceasing complaints of the fraudulent enlistment of British subjects. Many were the visits that the Consul had to pay to the receiving ships at Brooklyn and Hart's Island, or to the unsavoury precincts of Ludlow Street Jail.

When it is considered that the general attitude of the American officials towards Britain and the British, was, at that particular period of the war, one of the deepest distrust and suspicion—not to say hatred—it will easily be recognized that these unlooked for duties, devolving upon Consul Archibald, were rendered a thousandfold more delicate and their problems a thousand-

fold more difficult of solution than would have been the case had the two countries entertained more friendly relations towards each other.

Kidnapping especially flourished in New York where the emigrants were an easy prey, and to such a point had corruption been carried, that the Governor of that State admitted to the British Consul that out of every million of dollars expended in bounties, fully four-fifths of the amount were secured by "bounty-jumpers" and substitute-brokers and crimps. Writing on this subject to Lord Lyons, Mr. Archibald said:

The fraud and violence combined, which are now used for both army and navy, are disgraceful, and it is idle for the authorities to think of putting down the malpractices of the villains who carry on the business of kidnapping recruits, or of making the world believe they are sincere, while they hold out such inducements to these vagabonds for carrying out their White Slave Trade and Black Slave Trade too. I have numerous complaints, but, as in a great majority of cases the victims at last succumb and take a portion of the bounty (for they rarely get more than a portion), it would be unavailing to ask for their release.¹

In this connection may be given as an example, the case of a young man, a British subject, the only son of a poor widow who personally appealed to the British Consul of New York on his behalf and implored him to assist her in finding her son and having him restored to her.

The lad in question, it appears, besides being under military age, was mentally deficient. He had been spirited away by the efforts of some "bounty-jumpers," drugged, and placed on board a steamer with other recruits—many of them procured by similar devices—and sent off to a military training camp, the name and location of which his mother was unable to discover. Months passed before a clue was obtained as to his pos-

¹*Life of Lord Lyons* by Lord Newton.

sible whereabouts, and much correspondence on this case took place between New York and Washington. Finally, the boy was located, he having been sent to the front with his regiment, and, after much pulling of wires, a pass was issued to the distracted mother by President Lincoln, enabling her to seek out her son and bring him back with her. She at once started on her pilgrimage of love, and, after many cruel disappointments, finding on arrival at one camp that he had been moved away to another, she finally arrived at the place where she was told she would be sure to find him. On arriving at her destination, what was her anguish to discover that only the day before, her poor son had been shot for some neglect of an order which his weak brain failed to comprehend!

Cases such as this are among the "minor tragedies" of war, but to those who are concerned in them, they bulk as largely as do the many international complications which engage the attention of the chancelleries of the countries involved in the struggle.

During the four years of the duration of the Civil War the routine work at Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate not only increased out of all proportion to the usual volume, but became daily crowded with incidents of an exciting and sensational character, often leading to situations which called for the most skillful and delicate handling. The problems arising out of difficulties in connection with British ships, blockade runners, who made the base of their operations in the West Indies, questions as to seizures of real or suspected "contraband of war" being carried on British ships, and many other such contingencies—all led to much correspondence with the governors of the different West India Islands, the Admirals commanding the North Atlantic Squadron, and others in authority. It is much

to be regretted that instances of this correspondence are not to be obtained at this present date. If only Consul Archibald himself had been spared to write, as he was preparing to do, after his retirement, his "Reminiscences of a Quarter Century," how much of interest could he not have given the public!

Into the routine of daily work at the Consulate there entered constantly the element of appeals for assistance and advice from distressed British subjects: often sailors and seamen wrongfully treated or fraudulently deprived of their wages; sometimes penniless younger sons of poor families, who having spent their last dime in a far country now demanded an "assisted" passage back to the land they had so lightly forsaken a few years previously—or it may be that, tired of husks, they begged only the price of a meal and a night's lodging. Often there were those who laid claim to be heirs to some great property in England: impostors mostly, these; but one and all taking up precious time with their demands. When the distressed British subject happens to be a female, she is apt to be much more aggressive and persistent in her demands and much more difficult to get rid of. It must have been on some particularly trying day in the hottest month of the year that the Consul wrote:

NEW YORK, *August 20th, 1866.*

I do not remember, ever before having such a levee on Monday morning as this! Women, beyond the proper proportion—one insisting upon an estate, about which she saw some vague notice in the papers, and is sure that she is the heiress. Negroes, quarreling mates and masters, important extradition cases, pensioners, etc. The outer office has been a regular Babel for three hours past!— It is now a little quiet and I must conclude this to be sent by the *Alhambra*.

I had just written thus far when a well dressed, well educated young Scotchman came in to ask my advice, saying that he was suffering from an occult and malevolent influence exercised over him by

Dr. Cumming, who fearing his predictions would fail, desired to draw down some judgments from heaven on the head of my visitor! I have wasted three-quarters of an hour in hearing his sad tale and in suggesting some mode of relief to him. No one could be more sane in manner and appearance. Nothing about him to indicate lunacy, and yet, poor fellow, he is suffering torments from this sad visitation. How thankful should one be for the possession of reason!

All the waifs and strays of humanity converging upon the City of New York from the British Isles and its many dependencies, so soon as they suffered from depletion of purse, disappointment, disease, or difficulties of any kind, would make straight for the British Consulate. Of these none were more frequent visitors than the Consul's Hibernian fellow-subjects, who though almost universally disposed to abuse the British government and prepared at any moment to use every possible means to destroy it by violence, never hesitated to avail themselves of any pecuniary advantage which might be extracted from it when they were in trouble. All of these people got at least a patient hearing from the Consul; and often, when it was not possible to afford them official relief, his too-generous heart would prompt him to put his hand into his pocket for their benefit, lest the applicant, though his better judgment told him he was a humbug, might also be in real distress.

Occasionally, however, there were real romances at the Consulate out of which novelists might find materials for "best sellers" of the most thrilling type. It is, of course, impossible to give names or particulars in a chronicle of this kind, but a passing reference may be permitted to one or two such instances. In one case, after long and diligent search by well-known agents and secret enquiry-office men, the missing heir to a large estate was, by a strange freak of the fickle Goddess of Chance, identified by the Consul himself, when, dining with a friend one

evening, his attention was caught by the well-trained servant who was waiting on table. Something about the man's personality, no less than his striking resemblance to the photographs and description of the missing heir which had been sent to the Consulate, impressed him so strongly that he resolved upon a heroic experiment, and then and there related to his host the story of the man whom he had been seeking so long. As he proceeded with his narrative, always keeping his eye upon the waiter, he could not help seeing that the man was greatly agitated; he made many blunders and appeared extremely nervous and ill at ease. After the dinner was over, Mr. Archibald took his host into his confidence, and the result was that next morning the man appeared at the Consulate, with substantial proofs of his identity, and, within a few days, was on his way back to England to take possession of his inheritance. It had been the usual story of the restlessness of youth; revolt against a too strict discipline in the home; a flight into a far country and a gradual coming down in the world, until he was glad to accept a situation of a menial character.

Another—the heir to his grandfather's title and patrimony—was, when found after long search, a sailor before the mast.

The story of the daughter of an old and noble house who made a romantic but most unfortunate marriage with a man beneath her in station and of intemperate habits, and who had, with her husband, come to New York in the steerage of one of the great liners—is too long to be given here. Her family, who were officially supposed to have cast her off in anger, wrote to the Consul begging him to seek out the couple and to do what he could for this romantic but misguided girl. This request was cheerfully acceded to and for several years both the

Consul and his wife kept a friendly eye upon the unfortunate young Lady B. who had loved "not wisely but too well." And indeed the poor soul needed a friend; for her romantic marriage turned out very badly, and they were often in dire poverty. All throughout those dark days, however, the little wife was wonderfully brave and plucky: never complaining of her lot, and striving by writing short articles and poems to try to keep the wolf from the door.

One more such instance may be of interest. It is the story of an English school-boy, the son of a well known clergyman, who, because he had got into some bad scrape at the great public school of which he was a pupil, resolved, rather than to be publicly birched, to run away. "Running away" nearly always in such cases spells crossing the Atlantic; and the distracted parents, not knowing to whom or where to turn, wrote heart-broken letters to the British Consul-General at New York, begging him to institute enquiries for them, and, if possible, to find and restore to them their boy. This was an almost impossible task. There was no clue whatever; only the supposition that the boy might have worked his way out to "America" in some ship. The English ideas as to American geography are somewhat hazy, and they are apt to think of America and the American continent in terms of England!

Mr. Archibald wrote a cheery letter back to the poor parents, and lost no time in placing a description and photos of the missing lad in the hands of all the British Consuls and Consular agents in the territory then comprised in his Consulate-General, which included New York, Delaware, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Connecticut. Besides this, he set private enquiry people at work to interview pursers of ocean steamers and the masters of ves-

sels from the old country, besides questioning all those who came into his office.

But months passed and the search seemed fruitless, and it was a hard task to have to report his want of success to the sorrowing parents and to read their heartbroken letters in reply. At last, from the Consul at Portland, Maine, came a letter telling of a visit—in fact, many visits, at the Consulate there—of a young man who was seemingly reduced to the lowest straits of poverty, and who begged for some work—any work to relieve him. Thin and pale, he yet bore a marked resemblance to the photograph sent to the consul, and there was just a chance that he might be the original. Consul-General Archibald telegraphed at once: "Send the boy to me with promise of work." Next morning he appeared at the Consulate in New York, a poor, emaciated creature, but with an unmistakable air of good breeding about him; despite his ragged clothes and broken boots, he was a gentleman. Consul Archibald took him into his private office and bade him be seated, and then after putting a few questions to him and asking his name (he gave a totally different one from that of the missing boy), he said: "Before I try to help you to a situation I would like to read you a letter I have here," and selecting the letter of the mother of the missing boy, he began to read the pitiful story. Before he had finished the first page, the poor fellow was sobbing piteously and calling for his mother. Putting his hand tenderly on the boy's bowed head, Mr. Archibald said gently—calling him by his real name: "F., how could you grieve them so?" In a moment the young man sobbed out all his sad tale of loneliness and repentance. Then he was told that all arrangements would be made at once for him to leave for his home and the next day, respectably and suitably clothed

he sailed for England, whilst the news of the prodigal's return was flashed across the ocean to his delighted parents.

The gratitude of the good clergyman and his wife was almost overwhelming, but though this story is already over long, the sequel to it is so charming that it must be recorded here.

Several years after these things took place, Mr. Archibald, with his wife, was at Geneva, Switzerland, where the sittings of the International Arbitration Conference, called together to consider and settle the amount of indemnity to be paid by Great Britain in the matter of the *Alabama* claims, were being held. On Sunday morning Mr. and Mrs. Archibald went to the English Church service and were very much pleased with the eloquent sermon preached by a clergyman whose name they did not know. Returning to their hotel after a stroll, they found the clergyman and his wife in the parlour, and in a few minutes were engaged in conversation with them. In the course of the conversation they discovered that Mr. Archibald came from New York, upon which the clergyman's wife exclaimed: "Oh! Do you by any chance happen to know the British Consul-General there?" To which Mr. Archibald rejoined whimsically: "Why, yes, I know him intimately!" Upon this the lady at once poured forth the story of her runaway boy, and the Consul's kindness, and of how they never could repay their debt of gratitude to him.

This was too much for the tender-hearted Consul and his wife, who were by this time greatly moved. On seeing their emotion the lady cried out: "Why! I do believe that you are the Consul himself!" And, on his replying in the affirmative, there ensued a scene which they always said they could never forget. The happy parents told of the comfort and blessing their son now

was to them, and gave Mr. Archibald and his wife the heartiest invitation to visit them all in their English vicarage.

It is not often given to anyone to reap the reward of a kind action in so charming a manner as this, and this chance meeting with the good vicar and his wife was a great joy and pleasure.

In recognition of his valuable services during the Civil War, Mr. Archibald in March, 1865, received, from his Sovereign, the distinction of being made a Companion of the Order of the Bath, an honour which he prized very highly, appreciating it to even a greater degree than when, in 1882, at the close of his long and eventful career, he was made a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

In 1871, he was promoted to be Consul-General of the following States: New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Rhode Island and Connecticut. This mark of the approbation of his Government was received with the greatest satisfaction by the New York public.

CHAPTER XI

THE FENIAN CONSPIRACY

THE everlasting "Irish Question" had of course to be reckoned with during the entire term of Mr. Archibald's consulship. The Irish agitators had their headquarters in the City of New York, and like the poor they were always with him. While at all times, the rumbling of their threats and curses "both loud and deep" formed a sort of running bass accompaniment to the many urgent and more insistent problems of the day, there were periods when the situation became critical. This was especially true of the years 1865-66.

To quote from Mr. Archibald's own statement to Lord Salisbury, he says in relation to this:

Ever since the year 1858 the Fenian conspiracy in America, of which New York is, so to speak, the focus, has necessarily involved me in much and anxious labour in watching and reporting its movements. Of the extent and nature of this particular service my correspondence with the Foreign Office will furnish sufficient evidence.¹

The organization of the Fenians in America was far more complete and extensive than was realized at the time, either by the Government of England or that of the United States. England, having had for hundreds of years more or less trouble with the inhabitants of the Emerald Isle, regarded their complaints and grievances, for the most part, with that large patience and half-contemptuous philosophy with which the average Briton accepts the family gout.

¹Memorandum of Mr. Archibald's services, addressed to Lord Salisbury, 1882.

Always constitutionally inclined to under-value rather than to over-estimate the danger of an attack upon the established order of things, it is possible that Britain ignored, or at least treated with a good deal of indifference, the attempted machinations of the so-called "Fenians" across the Atlantic. For a revolutionary body of men to ^{or}organize and equip and to finance from such a distance any successful expedition to overthrow British rule in Ireland, was to them unthinkable. Yet at one time, at least, no less than this was planned by the Fenian agents in America. As Consul Archibald had truly said, New York City was the storm-centre and focus of the Fenian conspiracy. In those days the number of Irish emigrants arriving there far out-numbered those of any other country. The Irish-Americans flourished in the atmosphere of New York, and many of the best paid posts in civic officialdom were occupied by the sons of Erin. The 112th New York State Militia Regiment was practically a Fenian regiment.

With the close of the war in America came the climax of the great Irish movement against England, and its organization approached the highest point early in the year 1865-6. The experience of Irish-Americans in the ranks of the Northern Army had taught them the value of drill and discipline, as well as the power of united action. The psychological situation also seemed to offer great opportunities. Never had Britain and British institutions been more distasteful to the American mind. Although there had been no actual rupture between the two great nations, there was little or no cordiality between them. Statesmen were constantly occupied in endeavouring to adjust the many international difficulties arising out of the war, among which the notorious *Alabama* claims bore a prominent part, and served, with other alleged "crimes"

on the part of Great Britain, to give a keen edge to the impassioned hysterical periods of Irish-American senators and members of Congress.

The Fenian Brotherhood had agents in almost every large city in the United States and in many parts of Canada. In Chicago they were recruiting for a Fenian Naval Brigade, and that city was also expected to supply two regiments. One of their cherished schemes included the overhauling of the British mail-steamers. At a Fenian mass-meeting in Washington one of the senators (presumably Irish—or Irish-American) romantically dedicated his horse and sword to the cause; and another senator spoke in favour of the movement. A great congress was held in Pittsburgh in the cause of Ireland. After disclaiming all connection with party politics, they adopted a resolution urging immediate preparations for war. At a secret meeting of the military council in New York an address or appeal was issued, signed by 125 naval and military officers of the late volunteer service, urging an immediate and direct strike against England. Early in March, 1866, a special dispatch from Washington announced that at a recent Fenian meeting held in that city, intimations were given of a plan to seize British Columbia and establish a harbour for privateers on the Pacific Coast. The achievement of a fleet of their "very own" privateers appears to have been a favourite dream of these liberators of Ireland. The idea of plundering defenceless British vessels appealed to them very strongly, nor were they, apparently, deterred in these warlike projects by any disturbing thoughts about the possible interference of the British Navy. As time went on, their earlier idea of striking the first blow in Ireland was abandoned, and a raid on Canada substituted for it.

Upon all these schemes and plottings, in so far as

they came within the radius of Consul Archibald's sphere of activity, he kept a watchful and observing eye, and his means of information being very complete and reliable, he was enabled to supply very exact and minute details of almost every move of the authorities at headquarters to the Home and the Canadian Governments. History tends, as we all know, to repeat itself; and the Fenians of that day, no less than their more modern prototypes the Sinn Feiners, possessed many of the same amiable but questionable characteristics. One of these, common to both organizations, was the fatal desire to take the lead and be appointed "Head Centre," which resulted in unhappy strife and divisions; and the rather characteristically Irish solution of the difficulty by the simple method of having *several* "Heads" and "Centres." Two of the most prominent of these bore the good old Hibernian names of O'Mahony and Sweeny, while a third was named Roberts, and a fourth, Stephens. Each of these "Head Centres" had their own particular following and from among these followers there were always at the disposal of Consul Archibald thrifty patriots who were willing, nay, anxious, in many cases, to part with valuable information. It is not necessary here to enquire into their motives. Perhaps they were not unwilling to earn an honest (?) penny. That there were many of them, and that they on the whole enjoyed talking over Irish affairs with the Consul, we gather from a remark in one of his letters to the effect that he has been almost embarrassed by the number of offers of information received from members of the Brethren! His principal and most reliable informant, however, was a gentleman who held a responsible position in the conspiracy, and who bore the imposing title of "Assistant Secretary of War."

The sale of bonds of the Irish Republic was carried on with great vigour, and in order to make a favourable impression upon the public, an imposing and expensive house in Union Square was engaged as Headquarters at a large yearly rental.

In the month of March, 1866, it became evident that the Fenian movement had nearly reached the point when perfervid oratory was about to be converted into militant action. Roberts and Stephens in Europe were appealing for men and funds. Sweeny in America was planning a raid on Canada, by way of the Maine border. At an open air meeting in Brooklyn O'Mahony, addressing the Fireman's Association, said, it rested with the Fenians to form a regular Irish confederation in America. No power then could resist, he said, the revolutionary leverage that would thus be brought against England. He proudly boasted that while there were over 300,000 sworn Fenians in Ireland, there were also in London, the very centre of wealth and power in England, numbers of Fenians ready to bring revolution to England's door. Indeed one of the most cherished plans of the brotherhood centred upon the total destruction of the city of London; the plan being to use Greek fire to destroy the principal public buildings in one hundred different places simultaneously, and then during the ensuing panic and confusion, to plunder the principal banks for the good of the Cause.

In March, 1866, the temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, a drastic measure which the British Government felt impelled to take, in consequence of the many murderous acts of the Fenians in Ireland, gave renewed impetus to the activities of the Fenians in America. The most lurid and terrifying accounts of the sufferings and torture of Fenian prisoners

in so-called British dungeons, were circulated both by loud-voiced orators and by means of pamphlets and newspapers. At a huge meeting in Jones' Wood near New York, attended by over one hundred thousand persons, resolutions were passed, declaring that "as American citizens they had met to express sympathy with, and were determined to bestow material aid upon a people desiring to be free. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was an acknowledgment that Ireland was in a state of war and, therefore, entitled by all the rules of civilized warfare to belligerent rights." The meeting, therefore, called upon their Government at Washington, without delay to acknowledge Ireland as a belligerent. A booth was opened on the grounds to receive subscriptions for Irish Republic Bonds—and at least \$25,000 worth of these rather doubtful securities were sold on that day. A circular was issued by Mahony from the military department of the organization urging people to be prepared for immediate action and to be on the lookout for secret orders.

It will be easily conceded that all these warlike preparations were quite sufficient to give grounds for grave consideration on the part of the representatives of the British Government, the Canadian authorities, and, in a different but no less important degree, to the Government of the United States. It was, of course, the policy of the Irish to make the very utmost of all these happenings, and, if at all possible, to arouse the sympathy and the co-operation of a large number of non-Irish American citizens. If they could possibly, by any means, have embroiled the United States with England, they would have made a long step towards the achievement of their purposes.

Much, therefore, of their extravagant and exaggerated

statements as to men and arms, or of their loud-voiced threats as to the invasion of Canada, far overshot the real truth; and, whilst they may have had a number of sympathizers among a certain class of Americans, the better informed and more influential citizens either ignored them altogether or received their assertions with indifference or contempt.

Consul Archibald, therefore, while he was fully alive to the dangerous possibilities which lay within the power of the Fenian movement, was careful, in all his reports and dispatches to his Government to discriminate between a real and a fancied menace and to avoid any overstatement of facts.

Meanwhile, shipments of arms and ammunition went on constantly; 50,000 muskets being sent from Portland, Maine, to Ireland by way of St. John's, Newfoundland, where they were first landed with great secrecy at night and buried in a field behind the Bishop's residence and subsequently dug up and reshipped from a lonely and little frequented harbour to Kinsale, Ireland. A curious detail in this proceeding is the fact that the field in which they were concealed had once been the property of Consul Archibald himself, as he had built and occupied for many years at St. John's, Newfoundland, the residence now known as Bishops-thorpe.

It is said, that no movement, however slight, and apparently insignificant, looking to the invasion of Canada, was ever made by the directors of the Fenian movement in New York City that was not immediately and accurately reported by Consul Archibald to the authorities at the seat of the Canadian Government, and that the marks on each and every box or barrel which contained concealed arms or ammunition were promptly telegraphed to them on the shipment of each and every package.

In a private letter to a member of his family, dated July, 1866, Mr. Archibald says:

As to the Fenians, our Canadian invasion is practically at an end. The papers have been crammed full of telegrams, the most of them monstrous fibs. I send you the morning paper to-day, which will give you an idea of the muddle. I am glad the thing has come to a head and will now be disposed of. People here are sick of it and wish the Fenians at the North Pole.

But, though he wrote thus lightly of the "Fenian Muddle" Consul-General Archibald's position in regard to these gentry was not an enviable one. As will be seen by one of his dispatches, the Irish organization threatened with death any traitors who might betray their secrets to the enemy. In consequence of this, the risk incurred by his "informants" was also shared by himself. On more than one occasion he was the recipient of letters bearing the sinister embellishment of a skull and crossbones, and threatening his life if more of their secrets were divulged to the British Government; and, at one period of the proceedings, it was considered necessary by the American authorities that he should be constantly "shadowed," for his protection, by a detective. One can never be quite sure of the bona fides of "patriots" who for a "consideration" sell to alien governments the intentions of their brotherhood, and hence, on those many evenings when he was closeted in his library with "Mr. Richard" (the generic term for any "Informant"), his wife and family passed an unhappy hour, listening for the always dreaded sound of a pistol shot from the next room.

Among their pleasant little schemes to annoy England and bring her to her senses was the placing of an "infernal machine" on board of one of the mail-steamers, timed to blow up the ship when about half way across the Atlantic. Happily this project came to naught, owing

to the detection of the machine by a member of the crew.

Some time after this a package was left at the British Consulate addressed to a personage in high authority in England. It was a harmless enough looking package, somewhat heavy, but (possibly with the thought of the infernal machine in mind) the officials there were somewhat suspicious of the thing, and it was relegated to an unused room and left there for some time, when, on its having been discovered to have developed an unpleasant but highly suggestive ticking noise during the interval, it was taken by a bold and courageous janitor and consigned to the waters of New York harbour!

The long talked of invasion of Canada took place on June 1st, 1866, when a body of about one thousand men crossed the Niagara river from Buffalo and established themselves in Fort Erie, a small village on the Canadian side. Immediately on receipt of this news, troops, both regular and militia, were despatched from Toronto towards the point occupied by the enemy. It being doubtful on what line the Fenian troops intended to advance, two columns advanced by different routes on Fort Erie. An engagement was fought near Port Colborne in which six Canadians were killed and forty wounded, the enemy suffering about equal losses. That same night the Fenians, seeing that they were outnumbered, re-embarked for the American side, leaving about sixty of their men in the hands of the Canadians. A considerable number of them were stopped on their passage back to Buffalo by the U.S. steamer *Michigan* and were held in custody. Thus ended the long projected and loudly heralded Fenian Invasion of Canada.

Commenting upon this occurrence Lord Monck, Governor-General of Canada, in his speech from the throne at

the opening of Parliament for the first time in Ottawa as the newly established capital on June 8th, 1866, said:

The province has been invaded by a lawless band of marauders and I congratulate the country that they were promptly confronted and within twenty-four hours were compelled to make a precipitate retreat.

Proceeding, he further said:

I am happy to state that the President of the United States has issued a proclamation declaring that serious infractions of the laws of that country have been and are being committed by evil-disposed persons within the territory and jurisdiction against the British possessions in North America, and requiring all officers of his government to exert every effort for their suppression. I trust that the course thus adopted will ere long prevent this country from being subjected to further attacks from the citizens of a nation on terms of amity with Great Britain.

There is no doubt whatever that the United States authorities were, to say the least, extremely blind to the warlike preparations and sinister designs against the peace of Canada, instituted by their own citizens of Irish origin. Constantly warned as the Government officials were, they affected to treat the whole Fenian movement with the utmost indifference, and it was only at the last moment that they somewhat grudgingly took decisive action to enforce the neutrality laws by sending General Meade to Eastport, Maine, to interview Major-General Doyle, who then commanded the British troops in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with a view to concerting measures for the repression of the Irish movement. A schooner called the *Prey*, laden with arms for Fenians, was seized in Eastport harbour, but most of the arms had previously been removed before General Meade's arrival. However, after "the blow" was struck, in June, 1866, the United States Government as we have seen, took much more vigorous

action and, failing the sympathy and co-operation of the American Government, for which the Fenian leaders had hoped, the "movement" declined in importance and finally died out almost entirely. Another so-called invasion was planned to take place in 1870, but was forestalled by the action of the United States authorities.

In one of his secret dispatches to the Canadian authorities Mr. Archibald gave a summary of an interview of O'Mahony's with a prominent New York banker, with whom the Fenian leader was endeavouring to make arrangements to deposit the funds of the organization. The banker after declining to have anything to do with Irish war funds, endeavoured to remonstrate with O'Mahony as to the futility of plotting an invasion of Canada without the assistance of the United States, which would not be possible unless the two countries were at war. O'Mahony rejoined that there was more in the matter than was generally supposed, and hinted that prominent parties in the United States Government were encouraging the movement. The banker replied that some of the political leaders would doubtless cajole the Fenians so long as they could make use of them, but that he was sure the Government would interfere to repress any movement so soon as a demonstration was made.

Another dispatch addressed to Lord Stanley, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and dated June 13th, 1867, describes the objects of the Roberts branch of the Organization as "in opposition to that presided over by James Stephen... to attack Canada with the expectation of securing in the North American Colonies a sufficient status to obtain from the Government of the United States the concession of belligerent rights, and thus to be in a position to allow of fitting out of privateers for the destruction of British commerce."

He then proceeds to give full particulars of the personnel of the Organization and of the offices they held, together with the salaries allotted to each. Besides the President, Vice-President, these included a Secretary of War and assistant, Secretary of Civil Affairs, Bond Agent, Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer. There were also six "Senators," without whose consent no important action could be taken. These men received an honorarium of three dollars a day. Two of the "Senators" were also editors of Fenian journals. Nine organizers were appointed for as many different States.

That this constant vigilance on his part was fully appreciated by the Home and Canadian Governments alike, is fully proved by several letters of thanks and acknowledgment from Major-General Sir John Michel, K.C.B. and from Lord Monck, Governor-General of Canada, found among Mr. Archibald's papers after his death.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONSUL IN PRIVATE LIFE

IF it be a true though trite saying that a man is never a hero to his valet, then surely it may be asserted that, in private life, the most heroic of men is apt to be taken for granted by his immediate family, who, as a rule, are the last to recognize in him any especial reason why he should be singled out for public acclaim. This, however, was not the case in regard to the private life of Consul Archibald, who was ever the object of an adoring love and admiration from his family, and the centre around which everything in the home revolved. Slightly built and rather short in stature, he gave the impression of being delicate, and, indeed, he was never very robust, although what he lacked in physical strength was fully compensated for in his amazing energy and abounding vitality. He had a positive passion for hard work and the amount of correspondence, often involving the most intricate and delicate matters, which he put through on those rare days when, absolutely forbidden by his physician to go down to his office, he was, as he termed it, "loafing at home"—was simply amazing.

Of a nervous and sensitive temperament, he was no less of a modest and retiring disposition, deprecating, rather than inviting the notice of the public. Tender, gentle, and loving to all around him, and always ready to condone the faults and to forgive the offences of others, he could, when occasion demanded it, be most right-

eously indignant over any real infraction by others of the high standard of honour by which his own life was regulated.

His relations with his family were most delightful, and in the privacy of home he proved not alone a considerate and loving husband and the tenderest and most indulgent of fathers, but also the most charming companion and playmate, entering into all the various interests and occupations of his children to an unusual extent. His love and affection for his wife was boundless; and their mutual regard and perfect understanding, during their long companionship of fifty years, was very beautiful to see. His marked sense of devotion to duty had as its source and the mainspring of its every action, the deepest and most sincere religious convictions. In this rushing irreverent age the word "piety" has a changed value from that which it represented fifty or sixty years ago, and carries with it to-day, when uttered, the faint but unmistakable suggestion of a sneer at those very principles for which it stands. But no estimate of the character of Edward Mortimer Archibald would be accurate that did not take into account the fact that he was, before all things and in the best sense of the word, a pious man. His religion was as deep and sincere as it was simple and unostentatious. His knowledge of the Bible was wonderful, and it was an intellectual treat to hear him repeat from memory, as he sometimes did of a Sunday evening, in his cultured and sonorous voice, whole chapters of the Epistles or Gospels, giving to every word of the inspired text its due significance, and often breaking off to comment on the wonderful beauty and deep significance of the Divine message. At such times he would walk up and down the room, his face lighted up with love and admiration for the sacred text he was

declaiming, and, occasionally, emphasizing especially significant or favourite passages with appropriate movements of his beautiful and most expressive hands.

He possessed a keen sense of humour, and no one surpassed him in witty and brilliant table-talk. He had a fund of entertaining stories and incidents always at his command, and those who enjoyed the privilege of his hospitality could always count on spending a delightful evening at his dinner table.

As an after-dinner speaker, at public banquets or upon formal occasions, his utterances were always well received and made a very favourable impression. Commenting upon this fact, The London *Daily Telegraph*, of January 5th, 1883, in a eulogistic three column editorial on the retirement of Sir Edward Archibald from his post as Consul-General at New York, in referring to the work and merits of Lord Lyons, British Ambassador at Washington, during the early part of Sir Edward's Consulship at New York said:

The position of British Consul, and still more, of Consul-General at New York is, to say the truth, one of the most eligible posts in the gift of the Foreign Office when, as has happened since 1858, the British Minister at Washington seldom or never appears as a guest—which necessarily in that land of oratory, means a speaker—at public dinners in the United States—a great opportunity is afforded to the British Consul at New York to figure, sometimes in uniform, but more often in private dress, as Her Majesty's representative. Although Sir Edward availed himself of these oft-recurring opportunities more sparingly than vainer and more pushing men would have done, he has been long and favourably known as one of the most prominent Englishmen that ever resided in the Western Hemisphere. In peaceful and tranquil times, however, Lord Lyons lacks one gift which it is always desirable that the British Minister at Washington should possess, the gift, we mean, of public speaking.

The last British Minister at Washington who made an impression by his speeches was Lord Napier and Ettrick, whose eloquence is

remembered to this day, especially in Boston, Massachusetts, and Richmond, Virginia.... Since 1858 when Lord Napier was transferred to The Hague we have had no Minister at Washington who distinguished himself as a public speaker.... For these reasons the British Consul-General at New York, has, since 1858, been made more conspicuous on account of the occultation of his superiors at Washington.

But these opportunities for public oratory were neither sought after nor greatly enjoyed by the Consul-General; indeed, for more reasons than one, they were greatly dreaded by him. Always an abstemious man and one who lived very simply and used great moderation in the matter of rich or highly flavoured food, these long drawn out banquets with their costly and ostentatious extravagance and their elaborate menu, were, very literally, a weariness to the flesh to him; while the long list of toasts, to honour which entailed the consuming of endless glasses of wine, he regarded with positive aversion. Giving an account of one of these much dreaded banquets in a letter to his wife who was then visiting their married daughter in Halifax, Nova Scotia, he says:

On Friday I dined at the Union Club, as a guest of Mr. Evarts, who gave a large and most magnificent dinner to Justice Nelson of the Supreme Court of the United States. There were twenty-two in all. We sat down at near seven and did not leave the dinner table until after eleven. Each gentleman had a handsome bouquet, and the flowers were superb. The countless dishes—including those mortal enemies, terrapin and soft-shelled crabs, Roman punch, turtle soup, etc., with about fifteen kinds of wine—left me next morning in no very bright condition to write one of the most important dispatches I have had to send off for months past. But it had to be done before 11:30 for the *City of Boston*; and between lying on the sofa for ten minutes at a time, and then a turn at writing, I accomplished my task in a manner creditable at all events to my physical courage.

I was all right again by the evening and yesterday went three times to church, having dined at 1 o'clock with the N's, who were delighted to see me. The N's have all turned decided Episcopalians

Mr. N. told me of it about a fortnight ago; and, as if it were some palliation for leaving the Presbyterian fold, he said, they had all made up their minds to join the *newest* of the Episcopal churches! Dr. Sabines' on 28th Street; and I think it is attended with good effects, for N. himself is a regular and constant attendant. But as to Madame, —I suppose after that grand farewell party to you, she could not content herself to remain longer a Calvinist. There is, however, great kindness among them and they send much love to you and the girls.

The news of the assassination of President Lincoln, which came like a bolt from the blue one dreary March morning, brings back very vividly a vision of my father in a moment of great agitation. He was not very well and was keeping his bed by the doctor's orders, when my brother rushed into the room with the awful news. At one bound, it seemed to my childish mind, he was out of bed and seated at my mother's dressing-table, in his dressing-gown and night-cap, was writing dispatches for dear life to send off by the mail-steamer. He had the highest opinion of the good qualities of the President, and sincerely mourned his untimely death, which he justly regarded as a national calamity.

All sorts of interesting people used to come and go, in those early days, in our home in New York. At this distance of time and because of my being then but a child, they are more or less merely shadowy shapes and figures; yet I can recall some of them quite distinctly. Among these Moncton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, the poet; George Augustus Sala; Ferdinand de Lesseps, of Panama Canal fame; and many others. I recall my mother's disappointment on the night that Thackeray *failed* to arrive to meet a large company invited to meet him; and, later, the commotion in our household when the Countess of Ellesmere, who with her husband was dining with us, discovered that she had been robbed on the way of a magnificent diamond bracelet. The Ellesmeres were

old friends of the family, from the Newfoundland days, when their father, Sir Gaspard le Marchant, afterward the Marquis of Normanby, was Governor first of Newfoundland and afterwards of Nova Scotia. During the Civil War, there were always many naval and military officers (English of course) coming and going, and mysterious "Queen's Messengers" on secret and confidential errands. Canadian statesmen, several captains of the Cunard liners, among whom the Commodore Captain Judkins of the *Scotia*, Captain Lot of the *Persia*, and Captain Anderson of that wonder of the age—the *Great Eastern*—stand out most clearly in my memory.

Among the many notable and interesting people whom I remember as being on terms of intimacy in the home of my childhood, the figures of Lawrence Oliphant and his accomplished wife occupy a prominent place in my memory. Probably the glamour of romance thrown around them by the alluring, though mysterious charm of their religious views (they belonged to some Community or Order of socialistic tenets in New York State), and I frequently heard my parents discussing and deprecating this sad fact, which gave them a certain importance to my childish fancy. I knew also that Mr. Oliphant had been one of the victims in the midnight attack on the British Legation at Peking, during the Tai-Ping rebellion in 1860, for had I not seen his picture in a sensational "Sketch by our special Artist" in the *Illustrated London News*? Also there was lying about our drawing-room table a book of his, called *Piccadilly*—all the more fascinating because forbidden—about puzzling people, whom he called "Worldly Holies" and "Wholly Worldlies."

A warm friendship existed between my father and Lord Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, and I re-

call an instance when the latter was passing through New York on his way back to Canada and took the trouble to call at our house to enquire for my mother's health. Through the stupidity of a new maid, he was mistaken for a newspaper reporter and kept waiting between the inner and outer doors, while the puzzled maid reported to her master that "he said he was a lord-general, or some such grand person, from Canada." The Consul-General, in a somewhat irritated frame of mind, rushed down stairs to get rid of a supposed crank, and found Lord Dufferin laughing heartily at the uncomplimentary remarks he had overheard as to his probable identity.

There was of course a constant stream of communication between the Legation at Washington and the Consulate-General at New York, and later between the various consuls who were within my father's territory as Consul-General of the Middle and New England States, and not only was public and official business transacted between the Ambassador and the Consul, but, not infrequently, the attachés were entrusted with more personal and not less important—if more intimate errands.

As a patron of the different British benevolent societies of the City of New York, Mr. Archibald was often called upon to speak at their annual banquets and outdoor celebrations. Of one of these occasions, the Annual Sports of the Caledonian Club, of which he was an honorary member, he writes thus:

To Mrs. Archibald

NEW YORK, Saturday 3 p.m.

My dearest Kate,

On Thursday, which was a magnificent day, I went up after three to see the Scottish games at Jones' Wood—I have never been there before. It is a lovely spot. There is a circular green with sloping banks from it, just a natural amphitheatre, with splendid trees all round

and by this time these shaded the ground. There were fully 10,000 persons there, more women, or ladies, than menkind (on account of the Kilts, I suppose!)—and I was exceedingly amused at the games and races. I took Walter Grinnell with me, as an “A.D.C.” They were delighted to see me and made much, of course, of us, including a considerable amount of drinking of champagne and mixed beverages which we had to undergo. Some of the contests were very exciting—especially the sack, and hurdle races. I stole off as soon as I could, at 6:30 and dined at Grinnells at seven. You will see some account of the games in the *Scottish American*, I dare say.

We had a “grand rally” in Union Square on the seventeenth, very like MacLellan’s demonstration on the same day in ’64 and which we saw from the “Clarendon”; but the President¹ is sure to be defeated. I do not think he will be successful in any state except here, and only a small majority.

The abuse and vilifications in the papers of rival parties are something awful. One thing is certain, that there is still great disaffection in the South, and the Radicals are, not without reason, endeavouring to secure a guarantee for good government and subordination in the future. To do this, however, they are straining the Constitution.

For the Caledonian Club he had a special regard, helping its library by donations of money and frequent gifts of valuable books. But it was the Saint George’s Society of the City of New York with which he was the more closely and intimately connected. This organization of the British residents, dating as it does from the year 1786, was formed, according to their Constitution, for the dual purpose of “delighting in periodical meetings with the view of cherishing social intercourse among themselves,” and of “devising means for the relief and happiness of others.” Rule One of this Society states that it is established at New York “for the purpose of relieving their compatriots in distress.” Rule Two confines the membership to Englishmen or the descendants of Englishmen, and another and important regulation is,

¹Andrew Johnson, acting-President after the assassination of President Lincoln.

that of the four meetings of this Society to be held during the year, the meeting on the occasion of St. George's Day (April 23rd) shall take the form of a public dinner. It was, of course, *de rigueur* that these banquets should be attended by Her Britannic Majesty's representative at New York, who generally made a speech appropriate to the occasion. But Mr. Archibald's interest in the St. George's Society was much deeper than that of either a private member or of an occasional but honoured guest, for he occupied the office of President from 1867 to 1870. Largely through his unflagging exertions the property owned by the Society and originally donated to them by the corporation of Trinity Church, which was situated at the foot of Duane Street, was exchanged for twenty-four lots lying on Fifth Avenue between Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Streets, with a view to erecting there the Church of St. George the Martyr and a hospital. Later, by arrangement with St. Luke's Hospital, which subsequently acquired this site from the St. George's Society, it was stipulated that "one portion, wing or ward of the hospital, sufficient for twenty beds, shall be reserved for the use and accommodation of British emigrants, and that this ward shall be called the Ward of St. George the Martyr." Fifteen out of the twenty patients to occupy this ward were to be admitted at any time into said hospital upon the certificate of either the British consul and vice-consul and that he and the vice-consul should be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Management of St. Luke's Hospital, and that this arrangement should insure to the British patients in the hospital equal attendance, care, and comforts with any other patient without any extra charge or restriction.

The privilege of being able to send sick seamen or other British subjects who needed medical or surgical

skill to this ward in St. Luke's Hospital was greatly appreciated by Mr. Archibald, and on many a bright Sunday afternoon did he visit these, his suffering fellow countrymen, taking with him little gifts of fruit or dainties. On some of these occasions he was accompanied by his youngest daughter to whom the afternoon walk with her beloved father was a rare and wonderful treat. Together they would first attend service in the room on Forty-fourth Street which then served the St. George's Society as their chapel, where it was always exciting and thrilling to the child to listen, in the course of the usual evening service of the Episcopal Church, to the prayer for "our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria" after the usual prayer for the President of the United States.

On the retirement of Consul-General Archibald in 1883, he was presented by the St. George's Society of New York with a most appreciative and flattering address, magnificently ingrossed on vellum; and in the following year when he was called away by death, a special letter of condolence with a copy of the minutes of the meeting held for the purpose was also beautifully and appropriately inscribed, and sent to his widow, Lady Archibald, then residing in England. At that time, 1883, the Society worshipped and held their special service by invitation, in the Church of St. John, West Eleventh Street and Waverley Place, of which the Rev. B. F. de Costa, Chaplain to the Society, was then rector. Among the many tributes to the memory of Sir Edward Archibald, his personal eulogy was perhaps, the most beautiful and touching of all; and it is greatly treasured by his family to this day.

The duties of a consul naturally bring him into close relation with ships and seamen, and one of the many good objects for which Consul-General Archibald laboured,

during the whole term of his service at the port of New York, was the bettering of conditions for the common sailor before the mast. Constantly called upon to adjudicate in the frequent disputes and quarrels between seamen and masters, his sympathies were often aroused on behalf of the sailor, whom he considered to be very severely handicapped. Leading a life of danger, hardship, and discomfort on the sea, during his brief time ashore poor Jack was too often the easy prey of all kinds of evil-disposed people, ready at any moment to despoil him of his hard-earned wages, and to lead him into any and every kind of temptation to debauchery and crime.

The American Seaman's Friend Society consequently appealed very strongly to him, and he was for many years one of its vice-presidents. That they fully appreciated his services may be gathered from the address presented to him by the Society in January, 1883, which was as follows:

The Trustees of the American Seamen's Friend Society, in view of the retirement of Sir Edward M. Archibald, for several years one of our Honorary Vice-Presidents, from the position of Her British Majesty's Consul-General, resident at the port of New York, esteem it a privilege to express in this way, their sense of his personal worth, and attest to the conspicuous success, which has attended the administration of his recently terminated consulship.

These are relations growing out of the official position he has so usefully occupied, that have demanded on the part of Her Majesty's commercial representative, the exercise of great practical wisdom and efficiency, often imposing upon him duties of a paternal nature, and sometimes calling for that philanthropy which has its constraint in the Divine compassion and benevolence.

It has been particularly in his discharge of this last class of duties, such as concern the guardianship, the protection, the personal comfort and welfare of the common sailor, the relief of the ship-wrecked and destitute suffering sons of the ocean, who were countrymen with him, that we have had occasion to know of the earnest

sympathy and prompt responsive substantial kindness of Her Majesty's representative.

We are consequently most happy to express in this way, our high appreciation of the invaluable services he has been constantly rendering while resident among us, manifestly actuated by motives that spring from qualities of the purest and noblest kind.

In recording, as we do, our regret at Sir Edward's retirement, we tender him our best wishes for his health and happiness, at the same time assuring him of our confidence that he will ever be cherished as having discharged the trust committed to him, in a way that has merited the distinguished honour, with which his Government has signalized his faithful and successful career.

Sir Edward on receipt of this address replied as follows:

I have received, with great satisfaction, the copy of the Minute of the Trustees of the American Seamen's Friend Society in reference to my retirement from the position of H.B.M. Consul-General at New York, expressing their sense of the manner in which I have discharged my official duties, especially in reference to the protection and relief of shipwrecked and destitute seamen.

I beg you will be so good as to convey to the Trustees of the Society and accept for yourself my warm thanks for the gratifying manner in which they have expressed their appreciation of my official conduct. I beg you also to accept my assurance that it will always afford me great pleasure to co-operate in any manner with the trustees and officers in promoting the prosperity and usefulness of so admirable an institution as that of the Seamen's Friend Society.

Mr. Archibald was an enthusiastic member of the Century Club of New York and greatly enjoyed its gatherings on Saturday nights, when many distinguished public men, artists, poets, and authors met together for delightful informal intercourse.

During the summer months when it became necessary for his family to remove to the country on account of the heat, and, in consequence the house was closed, he suffered to an unusual degree from the loneliness and

discomfort attendant on existence in a hotel or boarding-house. Unless granted special leave of absence from his duties, the Consul-General at New York is only given a very few weeks' holiday, and then may not go beyond the area over which his jurisdiction extends. An essentially home-loving man, his letters to his wife and family under these circumstances are often quite pathetic.

The first break in the family came in 1863 when his third daughter, Georgina Harriette, was married to Robie Uniacke, Esq., of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and went with her husband to reside in that distant city. Halifax having been their home in the old days, the family were naturally inclined to spend their summers there where there were so many attractions both of association and of a social character, besides the pleasure of reunion with their married sister and her children.¹ His letters written at this time reveal the heart of the man.

To Mrs. Archibald

NEW YORK HOTEL,

Sunday, August 5th, 1866, 7 p.m.

My dearest Wife:

Although I shall not post this till to-morrow afternoon, I begin to write now to relieve (if for no other purpose) my lonesomeness, which seems greater than ever, especially since Brenton, who has been with me all day, has now gone to his lodgings. But to write, in order, my history since we parted I must commence with my voyage in the *Alhambra* which, so far as regards the vessel, my cabin and bed, was very satisfactory—indeed I had as comfortable and roomy a stateroom as

¹Part of the summer of 1866 was passed by the family in Halifax, Mr. Archibald personally conducting them there and then returning to his duties in New York. In October of the same year, he obtained prolonged leave of absence and they all proceeded to Europe, sailing in the then new steamer *Cuba*, which called at Halifax en route to Liverpool.

With them as fellow passengers were the Delegates sent over from the various Provinces of Canada to settle with the Mother-country the vital question of Canadian Confederation. The writer, though but a child of eleven, well remembers the interest taken in these "Fathers of Confederation." A group of most distinguished statesmen, which included Sir John A. MacDonald, Sir Charles Tupper, the Hon. Adams G. Archibald, Hon. Joseph Howe, and others.

I should have in the *China*; but the table was wretched; the water, taken in fresh at Charlottetown, became putrid from some unknown cause and we fell back on condensed water. Unhappily the vessel was a temperance one, no beer or spirits on board. However, the weather was lovely—barring a little fog—the water smooth, the captain very obliging; and if the cookery department were only reformed, I should be happy at any time to make the passage in the *Alhambra*. We reached Boston at 3 p.m. on Friday—a scorching hot day. There somebody exchanged bags with me and I spent the whole time until the train started in reclaiming my bag, journeying between the Old Colony Depot, the Parker House, and the wharf. I thus missed my dinner, and got nothing substantial until 9 p.m. on board the boat from Newport. The boat was crammed. Not a stateroom to be had for love or money. To sleep in one of the cots stretched in the upper room was too public a performance, and moreover in a thorough draft. I went to the captain in despair and handed him my card, when he at once gave to myself the best stateroom in the ship! What good luck! for I should otherwise have been knocked up. I slept comfortably, and dressed deliberately next morning, reaching the hotel by half past seven. But I am too prosy. I found Edwards and all at the office, and Brenton quite well. B. rather thin. Got off a dispatch by the *City of New York* and soon fell into my old groove. I felt the heat more than I anticipated, the therm. being at 84° and air close. In the afternoon a thunderstorm and heavy rain purified the air, and to-day has been one of the most perfect I ever beheld—cool, clear, fresh like that Sunday at Saratoga—most enjoyable.

Nearly all the up-town churches being closed, Brenton and I went to Trinity to the Sacrament together, and had a very good sermon from Dr. Vinton. I thought much and often of you all, not without fervent prayers to the God of all Grace, that He would be with you and our dear ones at Halifax, where you all also have been partaking of this blessed privilege—that we may all be strengthened and refreshed in our souls, and be brought nearer to God by the precious sacrifice of His Dear Son. Oh, that we might live nearer to Him and realize His presence at all times. Brenton came and dined with me at the half-past two dinner and at 5:30 we went to Calvary, where there were only prayers and not more than forty persons in church. Very few churches are open and the town looks deserted. We called at Mrs. Stephenson's and at Dr. Risings.

This hotel is not more than half full and on looking over the book

all are from the South. No one that I know on it. I recognized Mr. Weed¹ at his end of the table and saw one or two of the faces here in May. There are not more than a dozen ladies. The men seem a *rowdy* lot, and the smoking and spitting, etc., render it impossible for me to stay here. To fall back on my bedroom is like going to prison. I think of making a bargain with the 5th Ave. Hotel to board there and resume my old room on 26th Street. I should be vastly more comfortable and respectable. I shall determine to-day. The charge here and at hotels is \$5.00 and no abatement by the week.

I found letters from Tom and Charles². I will send you Tom's. Charles thinks that as you are coming home in October, you, too, might as well remain! He had not completed his financial arrangements, but is in hopeful prospect of doing so.

The Cable Management does not please the press here and there are constant grumblings.

Monday Morning, August 8th.

Delicious morning. Up at 6:30 and quite well. I left off yesterday for want of paper. This morning the cable brings very important news, giving the prospect of a lasting peace on the Continent. As the summary of telegraph to Halifax will be sure to mangle the news, I enclose some parts of this morning's *Times* giving the full report.

I have written a letter of congratulation to Mrs. Field, who is at Newburgh.

I still incline to the opinion that I shall be vastly more comfortable at 26th Street, boarding regularly at a hotel. . . .

And now with kindest love and kisses to all the dear children and dear Georgie³ and her babes, and with fervent prayers for you all I am, My dearest Kate, ever most affectionately yours,

E. M. ARCHIBALD.

I look back with pleasure and gratitude to my visit to Halifax. Wish I could be there still. Edwards⁴ will go to Newport. Do not forget to pay Longard. I need not send Tom's letter; it is very kind and brotherly. He wishes us to live near him.

NEW YORK, *Monday, Aug. 13th, '66.*

My darling Wife:

You all wish to know how I have been "*conducting*"! Well, in accordance with what I wrote this day week, I went back to 26th

¹Hon. Thurlow Weed. ²His brothers in England. ³His daughter Mrs. Uniacke.

⁴Pierrepont Edwards, Vice-Consul.

Street. I know I am more independent and comfortable there than I should be at a hotel; and, moreover, by patronizing Mrs. Stephenson, who was so kind to me in my illness, I am doing her a service, as she would be entirely without a tenant for my rooms for the next two months—a great loss to her. So if there is any merit in keeping the rooms, when it does not cost me anything extra, I may lay claim to it. I take all my meals out, excepting occasionally tea. I mess at the Hoffman House where the cuisine is superb and not unreasonable. This morning I had, for instance, a fresh mackerel, cooked as I never before tasted the like, and coffee such as you do not get out of Paris, toast, rolls and butter for 85c. Instead of fish, if you wanted beef-steak (as is a beefsteak) it is only 75c. Dinner about \$1.45. Last week I dined twice at Mr. H. Grinnell's and yesterday with the Norwoods. The dinner on Saturday at the Grinnell's was given to the Queen Emma;¹ her Secretary, a Miss Spurgeon, accompanied her. I had called on her two days previously. I sat next her at dinner. She is a most agreeable, ladylike, dignified, and well informed person, with an utter absence of affectation. She is eminently naive and simple in her manner, with a most agreeable smile, and a great appreciation of humour. She is really very good looking, of a dusky olive complexion with very fine eyes. Very handsome figure, a little above the middle height, and though thirty looks much younger. She has, of course, made a great sensation here—or rather has been made use of for a sensation of which New York was greatly in need in these dull times. She had a hard time of it rather in being put through the municipal hospitalities—the speechifying and toasting, etc. Sylvia Grinnell has been acting as sort of Maid of Honour to her, and says she has an immense deal of fun about her. She managed with great tact and delicacy to defeat the project of the Mayor, etc., in their design of taking her to see the Institutions! having stopped short after going to see Greenwood and the Navy Yard.

¹The Dowager-Queen Emma of Hawaii was the widow of King Kamehameha IV. She was the adopted daughter of Dr. Rooke, an English physician who had married Kamaikin, a sister of her mother, Fanny Kela Young. She had received a good education in the Young Chief's school, and both by her character and her talents was worthy of her high station. On the 20th of May, 1858, she gave birth to a son, the Prince of Hawaii, who, the following year, was formally proclaimed heir to the throne. He, however, died in 1862, and not long after, 1863, his father, King Kamehameha IV, passed away. Emma's visit to New York occurred during a trip she took to England in 1865, sailing in the British man-of-war *Clio* to Panama. She spent over a year abroad, mostly in England, where she was treated with much kindness. She returned to Honolulu, October 22nd, 1866, on the U.S. ship-of-war *Vanderbilt*.

The only other sensation is the Atlantic Telegraph, and it is to me more and more marvellous. It does seem incredible that here, at breakfast, we have two or three columns of news recording all that was said and done of any importance the day previous in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Petersburg, etc. At the rate at which the press is taking messages the line ought to pay splendidly. The press in the United States will pay about one million dollars in gold per year. On Saturday morning I received a telegram from Mr. Field, which I enclose. Mrs. F. sends love and tenderest regards to you all. She wishes me to go and spend two or three days with her. . . .

Colonel Rowan has not made his appearance yet. I have another letter from Sir A. Milne, introducing a Mr. Dalrymple, brother of Sir James Dalrymple. He has called but I have not seen him. I have no time or means of entertaining such people. Were you not delighted to hear of the fishing up of the Cable? Cyrus¹ will have a truer and heartier welcome now (though not so ostentatious) than that which he had as V.P. . . .

On looking at the *Times* this morning I see the Academy of Music and College of Surgeons were burnt last night. I send you the slip. What a sad destruction! I heard nothing of it. What fearful financial news from England! People there are becoming more excitable and sensational than here. We sent to England \$8,750,000 in gold last week, which ought to ease their minds—and large shipments going this week. Of course there is great self-gratulation among the Americans on the greater security of financial matters here—and superiority of financial wisdom. But their turn must come before long. . . .

The Pells go to-morrow in the *Tarifa*. My Mexican friends also go in her. I mean young Scarlett, Walsham and Hunt. They have been to Niagara, and I shall have them on my hands to-day. I seem to be always having an invasion of consuls and diplomats. Last week Booker and Henderson of Panama and family, and Anthony Barclay were my visitors. I forgot to tell you that a few days after you left Mrs. Prosser found me out at the office and with that ringing voice and merry eye, and imploring presentation of her affairs, committed me to being one of twenty gentlemen to get up a public reading for her—I resigned myself to my fate. But, happily, three days afterward she wrote me to say that Mr. Eyre thought it too late for this season as people were all going out of town; but she pledged me

¹Cyrus W. Field.

for the early part of next season whatever that may be. I have spent another evening with Mrs. Bunch (don't be jealous!). Bunch is to be here by the 20th to 25th June and they leave by the *City of New York*.... A great deal of building and altering going on on Broadway. Never was anything like the rush of people to Europe. Six steamers sailed on Saturday, full....

My report is finished and I feel so light of heart thereupon that Ryder and I seriously think of going to Philadelphia on Friday. The K's give me the "Prophet's Chamber," but Ryder is to go to the La Pierre. The K's are so urgent that I should partake of their hospitality and see all their splendour, that I cannot well refuse to go. The *Bernal* affair drags on. Their prosecutor is most pertinacious.

It is a great comfort to me to have your portrait on the mantel piece. My room is, excepting as to chairs, sofas, etc., unfurnished, rather. Brenton has effectually cut off my supply of books except the Bible and a few such, from which I fancy Mrs. Stephenson thinks I must be given to the study of theology! Mr. Gillilan is the only one of the lodgers I have seen, and then when I paid him a formal visit overhead. The house is like a tram and I am often wakened at night with opening of doors, which I fancy are those of my own room. Lucky for you and your idiosyncrasies that you are not here. The lamp will be such a bother to me that I shall establish a drop light instead. Mrs. Stephenson smiles on me in a motherly way now and then as I pass in and out; but otherwise I see and know nothing of the inmates. The Norwoods send their love to you. Miss Staples, with a very fuzzy head of hair, is staying with them....

Ever most affectionately yours,

E. M. ARCHIBALD.

PHILADELPHIA,

Saturday, May 26th, 1866.

My dearest Kate:

It will be a novelty to you to receive a letter from me at Philadelphia. I know you will have settled in your own mind that my intention of coming to see the Kortrights could continue simply an intention. You see, therefore, that I am beginning to be more honest to myself and to the rest of the world too. It was, however, a struggle at the last to get away—a rush—or else a miss of the steamer at Cortlandt Street, but here I am.

Ryder had written to Kortright to expect us at dinner on Fri-

day so I am pledged. To cut off my retreat, I got parties to set to work early yesterday morning to take up the office carpet and kick up a monstrous dust and confusion there. Meantime, Brenton as usual offered any odds to invisible bettors "that I would not go under any circumstances," and thought he was sure to win when he found me yesterday morning, very late up, and bored with packing up! We were to start at twelve. When I reached the office at near eleven, I found some important letters, and had to rush off dispatches to Sir F. B.,¹ Canada, and others; and it was just touch and go. I found Ryder at Jersey City in almost despair of seeing me. The day was lovely, and so was the country. The beautiful green fields and trees and fresh air did me service. I needed a run, for living somewhat irregularly, and having a little cold, I have thinned and weakened somewhat. We reached Philadelphia in good time. I dropped R. at the La Pierre and went on to K's where I received a hearty welcome—only dimmed by their regret (and still more mine) that you were not with me. How shall I begin to describe the luxury and splendour of the Kortrights' mansion? I assure you it is the most elegant, comfortable, and complete establishment that I have ever seen here or elsewhere—though very rich, it is in admirable taste. I am roomed and attended *en Prince*. K. and his wife seem the happiest of people. Her mother's house is the very next building. We dined at six yesterday (elegant dinner) and in the evening sat out on his beautiful grounds near the fountain in the moonlight and lovely warm evening air. From thence he took me to see four "eminently happy kings" in his four beautiful horses in a stable well housed, so nicely fitted and brilliantly lighted, etc. The K's bedroom and Mrs. K's boudoir, too, are the largest rooms in the house, and his library one—well, I will not attempt to describe—but I could not help wishing I had the wherewithal to make a New York Consular residence even a distant approach to this palatial abode—and, again, I felt a compensation in the freedom from the love and attachment which one must form for all these fascinating things of earth to the forgetfulness of the true riches—the unsearchable riches of Christ. Solomon's estimate of the value of riches to their owner—a value which every other beholder can enjoy—occurred to me. K. derives evident pleasure from the admiration excited.

To-day I am to be driven around to see all the objects of interest and beauty in the suburbs, and am to meet at dinner a number of the notables invited to meet me. On Monday I return to New York. . . .

¹Sir Fred. L. Bruce, then British Minister at Washington.

N.Y....All the world is off to-day to the New Jerome Park at Fordham for the races—the race of extravagance, folly and sin is flourishing here—the notices of regulations are full of orders about people and *servants in livery!* The luxury of the declining Republic of Rome is repeating itself here.

Writing to his son-in-law, Mr. Charles Archibald, in 1880, he has this to say:

I consider Montreal as now entering on a period of progress and extension as a commercial centre which will make it a formidable rival to this and other American seaport cities. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad will not only give a great impulse to trade and business in Montreal, but the completion of it will cause to converge at this centre a trade both inland and export of very great and steadily increasing proportions. Whoever can now prudently weave into the new commercial web of which Montreal must be the chief *locale*, ought to do well. Openings for business in connection with your coal agency would present themselves, of which, with your experience, you should be able to take advantage.

During Sir Edward's Consulship at New York he twice had the honour of entertaining Princes of the blood royal; in 1860, as has been already mentioned, the Prince of Wales; and again in 1870, his younger brother Prince Arthur (now Duke of Connaught), who came out from England by way of New York in January of that year, in the steamship *City of Paris* of the Inman Line of steamers, to proceed to Montreal and there to join his regiment, the Sixtieth Rifles, then stationed in that city. During the short stay of Prince Arthur in New York he was a guest at the well known hostelry, the Brevoort House, Fifth Avenue and 8th Street, and was, while there, presented with an address from the combined British benevolent societies of the city, represented by their presidents and secretaries, and each accompanied by their chaplains in full canonical robes. There were, besides, four chieftains of the Caledonian Club in full Highland

costume, kilts and tartans. The societies thus represented were St. George's of England, St. Andrew's of Scotland, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Ireland, and St. David's, Wales. The British Consul-General, with his Vice-Consul, both in full Windsor uniform—swords and cocked hats included—were of course present, and the address was read by Mr. Archibald.

The Prince was entertained by prominent citizens of New York at luncheons and dinners and met a number of the British residents. Before leaving the city he presented the British Consul with a beautiful set of pearl and diamond shirt-studs which are still preserved as a valued heirloom by members of the Archibald family.

No one occupying a position such as Mr. Archibald's in a large city like New York, can fail to be besieged at times by the often unreasonable importunities of cranks of all kinds. Inventors, budding poets and authors, would-be actors and entertainers of all kinds and descriptions, were frequent visitors at his office. He greatly dreaded the visits of these gentry, mainly owing to his reluctance to turn down or disappoint any unfortunate person. Especially was this the case with the representatives of the weaker sex. And in relating to his family circle the determined onslaughts of some of these persevering intruders on his time and patience, he would often have to plead guilty to the reproachful suggestions of his family that he had succumbed to their artful machinations and had promised his patronage (and what was worse—the interest of his family) on behalf of some Shakespearean reading or drawing-room concert. He never was very good at describing these "females" in response to the hail of questions about them with which he was assailed, and, to his youngest daughter at least, he seemed to employ but two vague but most significant ad-

jectives for his fair tormentors. If, on the whole, the lady's appearance attracted him, he would describe her as "a sonsy sort of person," but if she repelled him by her looks or address he would use the expressive term "mawkish," which, being a somewhat obscure word, carried with it a deep and sinister meaning! As for any description of women's dress, he was quite impossible, and would declare with the utmost confidence, when closely interrogated as to what Mrs. So-and-So had worn at the great banquet where she received her husband's guests,—that her costume was "some sort of a fancy silk thing trimmed with 'lappets' and 'weepers'." Being still further pressed as to what he meant by these weird terms, he frankly admitted that he really did not know, "But she did not look nearly so nice as you do in your evening gown, my dear" would be the naive but deeply artful conclusion of his efforts at describing the latest fashions!

In the winter of 1871, during the serious attack of typhoid fever of the Prince of Wales, which threatened to end fatally, the interest of citizens in New York was wonderful, and was expressed in many touching ways by all classes of society. One or two instances of this may serve to show how widespread and how sincere was their sympathy. To the Consulate there came one morning an old Scotchwoman, poor in this world's goods, but who from the depths of her loyal old heart was impelled to "do her bit" to save, if possible, the life of her future sovereign. She was so determined to be admitted to a private interview with the Consul-General that she firmly refused to leave the office, stating that she had come ten miles afoot and forty miles by train to "have a bit-crack wi' him and she wasna gaun to leave wantin' it." When at length her request was granted, she stated that she

had a sovereign remedy which she was sure would cure the Prince if only the Consul would at once cable to his attendants to have a sheep killed and the "liver and lights" extracted while the carcass was still warm, and applied to the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands of the royal patient. This, she affirmed, would at once draw out the fever and he would recover. She sought nothing personally, for her prescription; her reward would be the recovery (which was, of course, certain) of the Prince. So simple and good-hearted was she, and so genuine the loyalty which had led her to go to so much trouble and brought her so far from home that it was difficult to refuse her entreaty that this singular course of treatment should be cabled to England.

Of an entirely different type was the mysterious "dark stranger" who, enveloped in a voluminous black mantle and wearing a slouched felt hat, called at the Consul's residence on that fateful Sunday when all England suffered extreme suspense—for the royal patient's life hung in the balance—and who prescribed for him a weird and extraordinary course of treatment which surely was in every respect a heroic remedy. He was, like the old Scotchwoman, confident of a perfect cure, but, unlike her, demanded for his advice a substantial reward.

In June, 1874, there was another wedding in the family and the Consul's youngest daughter was united in marriage to her second cousin Mr. Charles Archibald, son of the Hon. Thomas D. Archibald of Cape Breton, one of the senators of the Upper House of the Dominion of Canada, and first cousin to Consul Archibald. Gracing the table at the wedding-breakfast on this happy occasion, were two magnificent pieces of plate, the gift of the Bank of England, in recognition of the services of Consul-General Archibald in relation to the apprehen-

sion of the forgers, MacDonnell and Bidwell, who after a prolonged series of successful forgeries lasting over a year, during which time they defrauded the Bank of England of over £100,000 sterling, had finally been detected but had managed to reach Cuba and the United States in safety. The fact that they were American citizens had complicated the difficulties surrounding their arrest and delivery to the British authorities. Particularly was this the case with the man MacDonnell, who had powerful interests at work for his defense, and the technical points relating to his citizenship and the terms of the Extradition Treaty then in force between England and America, occupied the attention of the Supreme Court of the State of New York daily for a matter of three weeks, before the necessary order was given which delivered him up to the English authorities sent out to bring him to London for his trial. It is a curious and interesting incident that the trial of these clever forgers at the Old Bailey, London, which occupied two weeks, was presided over by Mr. Justice (Sir Thomas D.) Archibald, brother of the Consul-General at New York, who also pronounced sentence in the case. It may be of interest to the readers of this memoir to include in this connection the letter from the Directors of the Bank of England and Mr. Archibald's reply.

From the Directors of the Bank of England

BANK OF ENGLAND, LONDON, E.C.,

27th February, 1874.

Sir:

I have had the pleasure of noticing, both in public and also in an official communication to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the effective services you rendered in connection with the recent prosecution of the American forgers for the great forgery committed on this establishment.

I have now the pleasure of personally communicating to you the thanks of the Court of Directors for the interest and aid you have rendered to them and their officers.

By means of the active measures taken at New York the arrest of MacDonnell, the principal offender, was secured, and the effect of this materially contributed to our ultimately succeeding in bringing to justice the whole of a gang who had been long engaged in defrauding the commercial public—not only in the States but in Europe.

The result of thus promptly following up and bringing to justice these offenders will, I trust, have the effect of proving that justice cannot be evaded, and of deterring others from following a like criminal course.

I have now to ask your acceptance of the accompanying piece of plate as a memorial of the assistance you have rendered, and as an acknowledgment of the obligation of the Bank of England to yourself personally throughout proceedings of no ordinary difficulty.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

BENJ. B. GREENE,

Governor.

In reply to this note the Consul wrote as follows:

To the Directors of the Bank of England

BRITISH CONSULATE GENERAL,

NEW YORK, *March 31st, 1874.*

Sirs:

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the twenty-seventh ulto., in which, after acquainting me that you had, both in public and in official communication to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, noticed the services rendered by me in connection with the prosecution of the American forger for the great forgery committed on the Bank of England, you communicate to me, personally the thanks of the Court of Directors for the interest and aid which I had rendered to them and to their officers; and ask my acceptance of a piece of plate, as an acknowledgment of the obligation of the Bank of England to myself personally, for assistance rendered throughout proceedings of no ordinary difficulty.

It affords me sincere gratification to learn that my services in the matter to which your letter refers have been so highly appreciated by the Court of Directors of the Bank of England. These services were, indeed, but little more than the diligent performance of my official duty.

The honourable mention of them which you were so good as to make to my official Superiors was, in itself, an ample reward. The splendid testimonial, accompanying your letter, with which, in addition, the Court of Directors have been pleased to mark their sense of those services and of which you ask my acceptance as an acknowledgment of the obligation of the Bank of England to myself personally, throughout proceedings of no ordinary difficulty, will be preserved and valued by me and by my children, not from any consciousness of merit on my part, but rather as a proof of the munificence with which the Bank of England rewards those who render it faithful service however humble.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

E. M. ARCHIBALD.

BENJAMIN B. GREENE, ESQ.,
Governor of the Bank of England.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ALABAMA CLAIMS

IN 1872, Mr. and Mrs. Archibald went to England on a visit, partly social and partly official. This was the year of the conference which met in Geneva to adjudicate on the "*Alabama Claims*," and Mr. Archibald's presence there was needed by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn and Sir Roundell Palmer. Of this visit to Europe he thus writes to his youngest brother, Blowers Archibald, then residing in North Sydney, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia:

To Blowers Archibald

LONDON,

November 17, 1872.

My dear Blowers:

It seems a very long time since I heard from you and equally so since I wrote to you. You are aware that Kate and I went to England early in June and returned here in September. A voyage always does me service, and I was anxious also to escape the excessive heat of the summer here, which, this year proves to be extreme.

We were in London nearly the whole of the time we were in England; but spent nearly four weeks in a tour on the Continent. We went to Paris and thence to Geneva, where we were for two days with the British members of the Arbitration Court—Chief Justice Cockburn and Sir Roundell Palmer. We visited many of the most interesting places in Switzerland, and enjoyed the grand scenery of the Alps. Came down the Rhine to Strasbourg, Heidelberg, Frankfort, Mayenz, Cologne, Brussels, and Antwerp, and so back to England. But the weather was extremely hot in Switzerland and from this cause and over exertion, I fell rather into ill health and did not recover until a month after my arrival here. I am now, thank God, in good health again,

and need it all for the steady hard work I have to undergo. Kate and the rest of our family are quite well—Emily being still at Halifax.

Of Tom¹ I saw a good deal and found him growing old from the effect of the very burthensome labours of his office; but you will, I am sure, be with me delighted to hear that he has been appointed one of the judges of the Court of Exchequer. I received the intelligence yesterday by telegraph. I suppose he has succeeded to the place held by Sir Samuel Martin, who, it was reported, has to be advanced to the judgeship of the Court of Probate and Divorce, vacated by Lord Penzance.

This is a very high honour for Tom, but one which he has fully merited; and the appointment will be very popular among the Bar, by whom he is highly respected. It will relieve him of the wearing duties of his late office, which he has most conscientiously fulfilled. Sir Roundell Palmer (now Lord Selborne and Lord Chancellor) spoke to me in the most laudatory terms of Tom and has now had it in his power to give him a seat on the Bench, as the patronage rests with the Lord Chancellor. He will of course be knighted.

It was only a very short time since that I heard of the sad affliction and bereavement which Cousin Tom² has suffered and the death of his wife. I never saw her but I have heard very often of her amiable, lovely disposition, and I sympathize most sincerely with Tom in his great affliction. Will you give him the kind love of us all here and say as much to him for us.

I hope this will find you and Margaret quite well as also Laura and Susan. I suppose Laura is with you at Sydney—but I quite forget her age. I feel myself growing very old when I think of the race of nephews and nieces and of their children coming forward; although, after all, the second and third generations of our family are not numerous. Tom has three very fine grandchildren, who, with their mother, Ellen McNeile, are now in England....

One object I had in my visit to England was to obtain some improvement of my position here where the cost of living exceeds income,

¹The "brother Tom" thus referred to was Thomas Dickson Archibald, whose elevation to the English Bench was the second instance only of any Colonial receiving this signal mark of distinction, the first example being that of Lord Lyndhurst, who, however, although born in the State of Massachusetts (then a British Colony) was practically to all intents and purposes an Englishman, he having left America with his parents for England when but a mere child, and was brought up, educated, and entered into the practice of the law in England.

²Senator T. D. Archibald of Cape Breton¹ and whose son Charles shortly afterwards married Consul Archibald's youngest daughter Edith.

even with the very best management. A parliamentary committee has been sitting on the consular service and we look for some increase of pay after April next.

Kate and Lizzie join me in kind love to Margaret, Susan and Laura and yourself.

Ever my dear Blowers

Yours most affectionately,

E. M. ARCHIBALD.

The "*Alabama* Claims" were a series of claims for indemnity made upon Great Britain by the United States, and based upon the alleged omission of that country to observe obligations imposed by international law upon neutral nations in dealing with belligerents. These claims were mostly for damages inflicted by Confederate cruisers which had been built and fitted out in English waters, and in particular for the losses arising from acts of war committed by the Confederate cruiser *Alabama*, which had destroyed a very large amount of American commercial shipping. There were also a number of what were called "indirect claims" put forward by various business firms on the ground that, in consequence of the successful raids of the *Alabama* and other British-built boats, commerce had greatly declined, rates of insurance were heavily increased and thus great losses had been incurred. This question of the "*Alabama* Claims" was, undoubtedly, the greatest problem of diplomacy arising out of the Civil War, and, at times, feeling on both sides ran very high. However, the Treaty of Washington, consummated, May 8th, 1871, happily formed a basis for adjudication, providing that the whole matter should be referred to five arbitrators representing severally England, America, Italy, Brazil, and the Confederated Swiss Republic. The Court met accordingly at Geneva, December 15th, 1871, but adjourned for six months to give both parties time to work up their case, the Chairman being

Federigo Sclopis, representing the King of Italy; the other members were Baron Itajuba, Brazilian Minister at Paris, and Jacob Staempfli, for three terms President of the Swiss Confederation, whilst America was represented by Charles Francis Adams, formerly U.S. Minister; and England, by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn. The chief counsel for the two countries in dispute were, for America William M. Evarts, Caleb Cushing, and Morrison Waite; while the English interests were in charge of Sir Roundell Palmer. The American case was, however, prepared, as presented, by Bancroft Davis. On several occasions the pressing of so-called indirect claims by the Americans came near to wrecking the Arbitration, but these were finally rejected, on the ground that international law did not sanction a compensatory award between nations on claims of an indefinite nature. England, however, was adjudged to be in fault in regard to all the depredations of the *Alabama* as well as some of those of other commerce-raiders, such as the *Peterhof*, *Florida*, etc., and to cover all these losses the court awarded to the United States a lump sum of \$15,500,000 by way of full indemnity for all claims against Great Britain.

At this distance of time it is difficult to realize the relief felt on both sides of the Atlantic by this final peaceful adjustment of great international differences. It was regarded, and rightly, as the greatest triumph of diplomacy in modern times. The indirect results of this arbitration furnish a high example of justice and disinterestedness in judging between nations, and by elevating the conception of national responsibility, the Geneva tribunal may be said to have rendered an incalculable service to humanity. The full amount of the award of \$15,500,000 was directed by the tribunal to be paid on or before the tenth of September, 1873, and arrangements to do so were

made by the British Government with the banking firms of Drexel, Morgan & Company, Morton Bliss & Company, and Jay Cooke & Company. The contracting bankers from time to time bought exchange which they deposited in comparatively small amounts, receiving therefor *interim* certificates or receipts. When the entire amount of the award had been raised these *interim* receipts were duly surrendered, and a single one, covering the entire amount, was obtained from the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

Mr. Archibald, as Consul-General at New York, was associated with Sir Edward Thornton the British Minister at Washington in these transactions, and acted throughout as treasurer of the award in receiving and paying over these amounts. When the final payment was to be made he left for Washington, carrying in his pocket a cheque for the full amount (\$15,500,000) due from Great Britain to the United States. The train by which he traveled met with an accident on the way, which delayed it for some hours, so that when the certificate was finally handed by Sir Edward Thornton to Mr. Richardson, at the United States Treasury Department, there was but a slight margin left before the expiry of the time-limit allotted to England by the Geneva tribunal.

The following article from a Washington correspondent to the *New York Times* was found among the papers left by Consul-General Archibald, and endorsed in his own handwriting "To be preserved."¹

The last act in the historical "*Alabama Claims*" controversy, as between the Government of the United States and of Great Britain, was performed to-day, and created a very lively interest among the newspaper people, in marked contrast with the dullness which has

¹A facsimile of the receipt or certificate for the payment of the "*Alabama Claims*," bearing the distinguished endorsements referred to in the newspaper article will be found facing page 206.

reigned here so long. From the documents which record the transaction it will be seen that nations can pay their bills with as little machinery and formality as individuals. The certificate which was issued in the names of the brokers of the British Government was like any other certificate for gold deposited in the Treasury, but bore upon its back when finally handed over a series of distinguished endorsements which will make it a historical document, and when cancelled and filed away will cause it to be as much inquired after by curious visitors as are the silver dollars captured in the skirts of Jeff. Davis. The presence of Minister Thornton, Consul-General Archibald, Secretary Fish, and Assistant Secretary Davis at the Treasury Department all at one time, on this important international occasion, made a picture for history. If only a pencil had been there to portray it! But the most interesting document is the bond issued to Secretary Fish under the Act of Congress to be by him held in trust for the claimants of the award. A single bond covers the entire form. It is beautifully executed by an expert with a pen upon parchment, and when redeemed, as it will be under the future action of Congress in distributing the award, will become another curiosity. To-night Mr. Davis entertains the principal participants in the transfer, as well as those members of the cabinet in the city, at dinner. Everyone here looks upon the notable event as the last feature in the greatest victory of peace.

In the whole of this important transaction with regard to the payment of the money, the Secretary of State declined to have anything whatever to do with the bankers employed by the British Government, his communications being alone with Sir Edward Thornton the British Minister; and the only transactions the Secretary of the Treasury had with the bankers was to receive their certificates of deposits, per E. M. Archibald, Treasurer for Great Britain, and issue in lieu thereof one for the whole amount, the bankers receiving nothing from the Treasury as compensation for the negotiation, the expense having been paid by the British Government.

Act of March 3, 1869

15,500,000

15,500,000

It is hereby certified that

Fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars

No. 1. Have been deposited with the Treasurer of the United States No. 1.

Payable in GOLD At his Office

J. DREXEL, MORGAN & Co. MORTON, BLISS & Co. JAY, FOOKER & Co. or their order.

Washington, September, 9th 1873

Thos. Allison
Register of the Treasury

Approved William A. Richardson
Secretary of the Treasury

L. C. B. F. J. J. J.
Treasurer of the United States

AN INTERESTING SCRAP OF PAPER—A TOKEN OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION
Facsimile of the Certificate issued on receipt of the fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars paid in compliance with the award of the International Tribunal at Geneva, by England to the United States in settlement of the "Alabama" Claims

Pay to the joint order of
H. B. M. Minister or
Charge d' Affaires at Washington
and Acting Consul General at
New York. —

~~Sam Morgan & Co~~
~~Morton Phelps & Co~~
~~As Agents~~

Pay to the Order of Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State.

~~Edw Thornton~~
H. B. M. Minister.

Edw Archibald

H. B. M. Consul General
New York

Pay with order of H. B. M. a
Richardson Secretary of the Treasury
Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State —

CHAPTER XIV

AN APPRECIATED OFFICIAL

IN 1879, Lord Granville being then the Head of the British Foreign Office, a rule was made that all consuls and consular agents should be retired on a pension at the age of seventy years. In reference to this enactment, brought about in the first instance to disembarrass the Government of the pertinacious but unsolicited advice of an elderly consul to the magnates of the Foreign Office in regard to the intricacies of the Eastern Question, it is thus characterized by Lord Newton, in his *Life of Lord Lyons*:—"As a general massacre of aged innocents was contemplated shortly by the British Foreign Office, a somewhat ignominious compromise was offered in the shape of this particular official under an age limit."

No doubt there are occasions when a septuagenarian consul may make himself very obnoxious to his superiors, but, on the other hand, there may be instances where advice and experience of the hoary-headed official may prove of great service to his country. It is more a question of the man himself than of his age; of the personal equation rather than of a general principle, founded upon an arbitrary age limit, instead of the qualifications of the subject. It would seem that some years later, in 1879, Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, found that it would be well to make an occasional exception to this rule.

When the news of Mr. Archibald's impending retirement from office became known in New York, there was

a universal murmur of indignation and regret. The *New York World* in referring to it said:

The information given by our London correspondents has been received by the leading British merchants of New York, and by all persons who have business with the Consulate as little less than calamitous, so great is the confidence felt by the mercantile community generally in Mr. Archibald's character, experience and judgment.

Following upon this expression of its confidence in the British Consul-General, the *World* quietly took measures to gauge the opinion of New York's leading business men by sending a representative to interview them on the matter. Some of their utterances are worth quoting as showing the high esteem in which Mr. Archibald was held.

A leading steamship agent said:

I regret the fact that Mr. Archibald must leave us during this year as a great misfortune and loss to the British Government and to its prestige in this city.

A British banker said:

We have felt like addressing a most earnest remonstrance to the British Government to secure the retention at the head of the British Consular service of the man whose equal for the responsible post he fills, cannot be found. It is not only almost criminal to remove Mr. Archibald by the operation of such an indiscriminate rule; but it is worse—it is a blunder.

In every quarter visited by the representative of the *World* among the firms which knew Mr. Archibald best through the business relations they had sustained with him, the same thought was echoed in many forms, and also by many American merchants and bankers.

Flattering as were these expressions of confidence in the Consul-General, and of regret at his enforced retirement, they were very shortly turned into universal and

enthusiastic rejoicing at the news that, attached to the order for his retirement, was a most cordial and appreciative personal letter from the Foreign Secretary himself, making him a special exception to the rule of retirement at seventy years, especially out of consideration of the importance of the post so held by him and which he had so ably and satisfactorily filled during a period of twenty-three years.

This unsolicited compliment to his efficient service was very highly prized by its recipient. It was received February 19th, 1880, and ran as follows:

From the British Foreign Secretary

FOREIGN OFFICE,
February 4, 1880.

Sir:

As the time is now drawing near when, according to the regulations communicated to you in the Circular Dispatch of January 1st, 1879, you would be compelled to retire from Her Majesty's consular service, I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to state to you that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that there are exceptional grounds which make it desirable in the interests of the public service, that they should not be deprived of the advantages resulting from your lengthened experience in the special duties which you have to perform. His Lordship hopes therefore that you will continue in the discharge of your office, the functions of which you have admirably fulfilled. In that case, I am to inform you that Lord Salisbury is prepared to make a special exception in your favour to the regulations which compels Her Majesty's Consuls to retire from the service at the age of seventy years.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

LISTER.

E. M. ARCHIBALD, Esq., C.B.,
H.B.M. Consul-General,
New York.

When the news of this signal mark of the esteem of

Her Majesty's Government became public, there was a universal outburst of satisfaction and almost every newspaper in New York had editorials or special articles upon the subject. A letter to the Marquis of Salisbury signed by 150 of the leading merchants and underwriters of the City of New York was forwarded to him as the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It was thus worded:

We, the undersigned merchants and British residents of New York respectfully beg leave to express to your Lordship the great satisfaction it has given us to learn that Mr. Edward Mortimer Archibald will continue to act as Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General at this port, the duties of which important office he has discharged for twenty-three years past, and at times, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, with such a nice sense of honour, judgment and fidelity, as to secure for him the highest respect and approval of not only the mercantile community, but of all other classes of this great commercial centre.

Her Majesty's Government in securing the continuance of the services of so valuable and experienced a public servant as Mr. Archibald, have taken a step which merits our warmest appreciation, and we beg that Your Lordship will be so good as to convey to the Government the expressions of our sincere gratification at the retention of Mr. Archibald in the discharge of his Consular functions, and also of our hope that Her Majesty and this community may not be deprived of his services for many years to come.

During the entire period of Mr. Archibald's service at New York he had always maintained the friendliest and most harmonious relations with the British Legation at Washington. In the early part of his consular career, during the years preceding and including those of the Civil War, Lord Lyons had been the British representative at the Capital of the Republic. It has already been noted how the constantly occurring complications involving the rights (and wrongs) of British subjects had been the means of cementing the warm friendship and esteem which already existed between the British Consul and the

Ambassador; a friendship which, as will be seen from the following letter, was not forgotten by Lord Lyons, one of the greatest and most distinguished of England's great diplomats, when, in after years, he so ably represented our government in Paris.

From Lord Lyons

PARIS,

June 13th, 1876.

My dear Mr. Archibald:

I am anxious to recommend particularly to you Mr. Arthur Forbes, who is coming home from India through the United States, and desires to take advantage of the opportunity to learn as much as possible of the Constitution and government of the United States, as well as of the educational systems, the prison systems and so forth.

Mr. Forbes is high up in the Indian Civil Service, and has held important posts under the Indian government. I shall be extremely obliged by any assistance you may be so kind as to give him; and although of late years our paths have been so widely apart, I am sure the recollection of the time when we worked so hard together will dispose you to do honour to my recommendation.

Believe me to be

Very sincerely yours,

LYONS.

The death of Lord Lyons' successor at Washington, Sir Frederick Bruce, after but a very brief term of office, was followed by the appointment of Sir Edward Thornton, who held this important post for a period of thirteen years, from 1867 to 1881. Between the Consul and this Minister there existed not only the most complete understanding and co-operation in regard to official duties, but also a mutual regard and esteem which drew them very closely together. The following letter will serve to show that Sir Edward Thornton was in complete accord with the voice of public opinion as to the retention of Mr. Archibald at New York.

From Sir Edward Thornton

BRITISH LEGATION, WASHINGTON,

February 20, 1880.

My dear Archibald:

I am delighted to be able to congratulate you, as I do most cordially and sincerely, upon the dispatch which you have received from the Foreign Office. I am afraid that there is a little selfishness in my congratulations; for I should have greatly deplored the loss of so valuable an assistant to my labours as you have always been; for I cannot allow your modest observation upon the marked recognition of your past services, and I am rejoiced to see that the F.O. has shown its appreciation in so delicate a manner of your really valuable services. I can very frankly state that during the whole of my career I have never met with so conscientious and loyal a public servant as you are, or one who is so thoroughly acquainted with his business in whom I have such complete confidence; it will be a great consolation to me if you remain at New York as long as my time lasts, which will be a little over seven years, if the F.O. does not turn me out sooner; but you know that we Ministers hold our appointments from a five years to a five years, and are always liable to be turned out at the end of the five years. I hope that in the years you may still have to serve, you will be able to put by a little money, or at least not spend more than your salary. This is rather preaching on my part than practising; but I have not the gift of saving, and have always thought it almost necessary to one's influence to be tolerably hospitable....

I have made enquiries about Russian Agents negotiating with Mr. Thompson for Naval Stations on the Chiriqui Bay and Gulfo Dulce, but from what I hear I am inclined to think that there is no foundation for such a rumour. I suppose that Mr. Thompson is trying all round to dispose of a part of the property.

With regard to "M" I find that he is very well thought of and much protected in the State Department.... He is known to be a rampant Fenian; but is considered to be a very able man and very useful in the Department. He is known to be constantly writing articles for the Irish papers and magazines at New York. But there is no appearance of an intention to leave the Department; indeed it is pretty evident that both for his own sake and that of the Fenian cause, it would be much better for him to "stick." He could probably do

more good to the Fenians and be more dangerous by remaining there than by coming away.

I hate to trouble you about rubbishy work and always endeavour to avoid it; but I am obliged to ask you to enquire into the case of one "S," about whom I enclose correspondence, and who seems to me to be a pretty bad card.

Believe me,

Very truly yours,

EDW. THORNTON.

When, not long after this, upon the departure for Europe of Sir Edward Thornton for England to take up new duties at St. Petersburg, he was presented with a highly eulogistic address by the different British benevolent societies in New York, who had chosen for their spokesman Consul-General Archibald—the two men were deeply affected in parting from each other after a comradeship of over thirteen years.

SIR EDWARD MORTIMER ARCHIBALD

CHAPTER XV

CLOSING YEARS IN NEW YORK

IN his letter to his wife from Philadelphia, Mr. Archibald expressed a wish that he could make the Consular residence in New York even approximately as attractive as that of his friend, the British representative in the Quaker City. The cost of living was increasing by leaps and bounds, and to live even moderately well on a fixed salary, far below the requirements of Mr. Archibald's official position, was yearly becoming more and more of a problem. Already in those days of the late sixties and early seventies New York was stretching on and up^v_h towards the gates of Central Park at Fifty-ninth Street (which then represented the end of all things), and rents and real estate were soaring also. West Fourteenth Street was growing more and more unsuitable as a residential quarter. Business offices and shops were fast replacing its once stately and distinguished residences, and in 1870 the family removed to a house, No. 11 East Thirty-fifth Street, between Fifth and Madison Avenue, one of several short blocks of residences erected by the Astors, on the crest of what was then known as Murray Hill, which soon after became the fashionable quarter of New York. In those days it was considered quite out of town; and, indeed, on the corner of Madison Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street there was, even then, an open field, where a somewhat primitive fish-market was the only building. The rents for the Astor houses were considered at that time not unreason-

able at three thousand dollars a year. To-day, converted as they are into shops and offices, they no doubt bring in quite five times as much.

The post of Consul-General at New York is one of the "plums" of the Foreign Office and commands, it is said, the highest salary and entertaining allowance granted to any consul in the service. But even in those more moderate days it never was adequate to the constant demands upon the public and private hospitality of its recipient, although in his family and private expenses the most rigid and unsparing economy was practised.

In the year 1873, a large number of the leading British residents in New York who had long been conversant with the struggle made by the Consul-General and his family to keep up appearances and to maintain the dignity befitting his distinguished position, addressed to Lord Granville, K.G., then Secretary-of-State for Foreign Affairs, the following memorandum;—a proceeding which, it will be noted, was effected entirely without the knowledge of Mr. Archibald:

To Earl Granville, K.G.

NEW YORK, 1st. September, 1873.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE,
EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.,
Secretary of State, Foreign Office,
LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP:

We, the undersigned, British residents of the City of New York, beg leave respectfully to call your attention to the inadequacy of the salary allowed to Her Majesty's Consul-General for the United States.

We are informed that the Consul's compensation is £2,000 per annum, a sum entirely insufficient to live upon in a respectable way in this city.

New York we believe to be the most expensive place in the civilized world. No one can live in a respectable way in a desirable

part of the town and spend less than £3,500 to £4,000, and the average expenditure of our upper class is probably considerably more than £4,000.

The British Consul-General occupies a most important position. Being Her Majesty's only representative in the Commercial Capital of the United States, having his office in a city which contains with its immediate suburbs not far from two millions of people, and among them a large British population, his office requires, we respectfully suggest, almost as much tact and diplomatic talent as are required in the Minister at Washington, and as Consul-General of the whole United States he has great cares and responsibilities resting upon him.

We highly esteem Her Majesty's present Consul, Mr. E. M. Archibald, and believe him fully qualified in all respects for his important station, and we cannot but feel sorry to see him insufficiently remunerated for his services, and prevented from keeping up the social relations that naturally belong to his prominent position from want of necessary means.

It is expected of the British Consul at New York that he should entertain all distinguished subjects of Her Majesty who visit this city, and this duty becomes yearly more onerous, as the number of such persons visiting America is constantly increasing.

To entertain in becoming style all visitors deserving attention entails a heavy additional outlay, which the salary now paid will not afford, and thus the Consul is prevented from keeping up the hospitality and dignity of his office from lack of means.

We respectfully lay before you these facts and beg leave to suggest that we think £4,000 barely sufficient to enable the Consul to pay his annual expenses, and we believe that he would save nothing out of such a salary.

Your Lordship can easily obtain information to corroborate our statement of the expenses of living in New York; and we trust that, when your Lordship is satisfied on this point, you will at once increase Mr. Archibald's salary as proposed.

We have only to add that this movement on our part is without the knowledge of Mr. Archibald, and is prompted by our friendship for him, and our desire to see Her Majesty's representative in this great commercial Metropolis placed in a suitable position.

This appeal was signed by over one hundred of the most prominent business men and firms of New York

City, all British born; and evidently carried weight with the Foreign Office authorities, as it was followed, in the last few years of the exercise of Mr. Archibald's office, by a moderate increase of his salary.

Even with this increase in income, there was but little to spare for luxuries. Those were days when only the very rich were able to keep their carriage, and when business men had to lose two or three hours of their valuable time between the home and the office. No subways existed, and the elevated road was confined to a single line on Third Avenue. The old Fifth Avenue horse omnibus or the crowded surface cars, drawn by mules, were the only means of conveyance for most of the business men and women of New York City. Motors of course were then unthought of. It took a good solid hour or an hour and a half from Thirty-fifth Street to the British Consulate at 17 Broadway, and consumed, besides valuable time, vitality and strength, which were still more precious. With increasing years, the infirmities of old age were beginning to tell on Mr. Archibald, and he no longer felt himself equal to the daily struggle for existence. Occasional attacks of acute pain around his heart warned him against rushing to capture a doubtful seat in car or omnibus.

While residing on Murray Hill the family attended the Church of the Incarnation at the corner of Madison Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street, of which at that time the Rev. Henry M. Montgomery was rector. It was at this church that the wedding of Charles Archibald of Nova Scotia to the youngest daughter of Consul-General Archibald took place, June 2nd, 1874. Two years afterwards all New York was stirred by the preaching of Dwight L. Moody, and a wave of religious conviction passed over the whole community. Mr. Archibald as a rule

was strongly opposed to what he called sentimentalism in religion, but he seems to have been very favourably impressed by Mr. Moody, as he thus writes of him to one of his married daughters:

The greatest matter of interest here now is the preaching of Mr. Moody, the revivalist, and the enormous crowds which attend on him. I have been to hear him several times, and Mamma much oftener, till she was laid up. He is doing a great work and is greatly blessed of God. . . . There is little if any emotional excitement consequent on his preaching, which is of a character especially suited to influence the reason and judgment of uneducated people. No sectarianism—no theological controversies, no reflections on any denominations; but, thoroughly instructed as he is in Scripture, he has a marvellous power and faculty in enforcing upon the conscience those vital portions of it which are essential to the reclaiming of sinners and the building up of the Christian life. His sermons are thoroughly practical; sound, solid, and at the same time brilliant with his forcible and oft-times most touching illustrations. It is a wonderful and a most pleasing sight to behold seven thousand persons hanging upon his words in rapt attention, and to witness a decorum and a reverence in their demeanour in entering and staying and departing, far beyond that of the most orderly Sunday congregation. There is not a particle of self or selfishness about him—a truly devoted Christian man. Already very great good has been accomplished; and the whole result must be a great blessing to this community. The hand of God is manifestly with him, and it is a cause of deep and sincere thankfulness that such a potent agency for good has been raised up among us. The congregational singing is an effective element in the services, and some of the hymns, where the whole throng join in them, produce a grand and thrilling effect.

We are very fortunate in our new rector, Dr. Montgomery's successor.¹ He is only thirty-two, but he seems much older. He is a most energetic worker, and all the institutions connected with the church are kept in admirable working order. He is a little too learned and clever in his sermons, but simple in character, and improves much on acquaintance. The church is completely full, one evidence of his success. . . .

¹Rev. Arthur Brooks, brother of the Rev. Phillips Brooks.

In another letter he writes:

To Mrs. Charles Archibald

Except some cold weather in December, and a little in the early part of this month we have really had no winter—no snow on the ground except for about six or seven days. I never knew so mild a winter, but it has not been healthy. It is to be hoped that it will not be proportionately hot in July, for the sake of the Centennials and all who have to be present at the grand Exposition. Everything now (1876) is Centennial, until one is almost sick of the word. Happily I shall have no official part to play in it, but I shall have more or less trouble with the numbers of English visitors who will come over.

The latest sensation here is the engagement of Lord Mandeville—eldest son of the Duke of Manchester, to Miss Iznaga. He is twenty-two. She, I believe, is older; neither of them having any money! It seems that Mrs. Iznaga when in England stayed with the Duke and Duchess of Manchester for a time, when Lord Mandeville was on his travels. When he came over here two months ago, the Duchess gave him a letter of introduction to Mrs. Iznaga with a special request that she would protect him from designing Mammas!! *En voila la preuve!* Mrs. Paran Stevens, who is profoundly interested for the honour of the English aristocracy, is shocked at this wickedness! It is said the young couple are to be married in April.

We are talking of going to Westerly in Rhode Island for the summer—instead of Rye Beach. It is on the sea and near Newport, Providence, Narragansett, etc. But you know what an amount of talking and arranging and rearranging has to be done before summer quarters are finally decided on. So don't be surprised if, in the end, we go to Lake Superior or some other such place! . . .

And now let me say how sorry I am to hear of the continued hard times in Cape Breton, and gloomy prospect for the winter. But a change for the better cannot be far off, and the virtue of patience must be exercised. I am most anxious to find some opening elsewhere, which may by and by bring you nearer to us. Here, business prospects in the Western States are beginning to improve and these will extend eastward; but, for the present, everyone is thankful to hold his own, if possible, and wait for better times. Tell Charlie I have not forgotten the matter of coal for gas, but I have been so pressed that I have not had an opportunity of making the needful enquiries.

You have, it appears, had your *full* share, if not even more, of summer visitors. I trust you are none the worse of the consequent fatigues. I am delighted to hear that F. L. is so content and happy, and also that you have her for a neighbour. Give our kindest regards to her. You must, however, have had considerable leisure this summer, as I see you have taken to authorship. The enclosed notice, I understand, on good authority, has been issued from a British provincial press, and as the tint of it indicates the presence of some coal dust, I conclude it comes from Cow Bay! I trust you may have a profitable sale for the work. Mamma unites with me in fondest love to you and Charlie, and with kisses to the darling children, I am my dearest Edie, ever most affectionately yours,

E. M. ARCHIBALD.

The last ten years of Mr. Archibald's life brought with them many changes and bereavements. The bond between the Consul and his youngest daughter was close and tender; every detail of her daily life was interesting to him. The marriage of this daughter (referred to previously) in June, 1874, was followed in September of the same year by that of his second daughter, Emily, to T. C. Kinnear, Esq., of Halifax, N.S. His only son, Edward Brenton Archibald, was a partner in the firm of Bowring and Archibald (the New York representatives at that time of the great Newfoundland, London and Liverpool House of Bowring Bros., of to-day) was, in 1877, united in marriage to Miss Caroline Leaycraft of Quebec, and brought his charming bride to the paternal home until a suitable residence of their own could be engaged for the young couple. As if some matrimonial germ had found a lodgment in the firm of Bowring and Archibald, this marriage was followed very shortly by that of T. B. Bowring¹ and of a junior partner, George Burnaby. Of this chain of weddings the Consul-General wrote to his youngest daughter in the following characteristic letter:

¹Afterwards Sir Thomas Bowring, K. T.

To Mrs. Charles Archibald

11 EAST 35TH STREET,
August, 1877.

My dearest Edith:

I am to-day rather knocked up from the effect of the excessive heat we have had for the last ten days and from hard work; and am loafing at home to recruit, and so devote my leisure to writing to you. I received your nice, welcome letter here, and sent it to Saratoga, from whence you will have learnt all about our party, and Emily. My holiday has been sadly broken in upon since the beginning of this month, of which I have spent more than three weeks in the city, and unhappily, with excessive, close and oppressive heat, and hard work at the office. Your mother, who thinks I cannot take care of myself, made her appearance unexpectedly on Tuesday night as I was going to bed. Wednesday and yesterday were scorchers, the mercury marking ninety-four yesterday, but happily the day wound up with a thunderstorm which has somewhat cooled the air. However, as sundry things in the way of refitting—new covering furniture, shifting carpets, etc.—had to be disposed of, prior to our departure on Wednesday or Thursday of next week for Quebec, your mother's visit has been timely.

Brenton is now full of the important coming event. He talks "C." all the time, but is very nervous lest he should make some blunder, or fail in some part of the affair, before it comes to pass. I am not sorry it is coming off early, for the agony would only be protracted if a distant day had been named. Burnaby goes with him as his best man. They will reach Quebec no Monday morning the 10th. Mamma and I will go *via* Boston and Portland leisurely so as to reach Quebec on Tuesday morning, and leave there on Wednesday evening or Thursday morning for home again—as B. and C. return here on the 19th Sept. for a day, and then go for a week, to Baltimore on the invitation of the Perrots who, together with all the L. clan, are overjoyed at the engagement. B. L. writing from London, indulges in the most extravagant expressions of delight. The cards, presents for bridesmaids, etc., are all ready; ours to Carrie is a set of handsome gold and turquoise earrings and brooch. Of the others you will hear in due time, as I do not yet know what they are. After Brenton's wedding is well over, there comes Burnaby's on the 3rd of October and we are booked to go to Goshen on the occasion. About the 20th of October Tom's wedding takes place, and, of course, we go to

Brooklyn. It is a dreadful programme! and I shall be glad when all the excitement is ended. Brenton and Carrie will spend October with us while a house is being selected, and furnished as much as they will need at the outset. I hope they may not have to go to Brooklyn, but may find a sufficiently cheap and small house somewhere near us. We are also looking up a small-sized, furnished house in this neighbourhood for Emily, as they have decided to winter in New York. Now if we could only have you and Charlie and the dear babes as near to us, how happy we should be!

Of course, you have heard from Mamma and Lizzie all about Emily and her children. I am happy to say Em. is improving slowly. She was and is dreadfully thin—all the result of nervousness. Under Dr. Rising's advice she takes no medicine whatever, eats whatever she fancies, and has no indigestion. Absolute rest is what she needs, both of mind and body. Having now a second nurse to relieve her of the burthen of the children, she is getting rest and gaining strength; and I feel confident a month's quiet rest at Saratoga will do her great service. She has, however, been fearfully reduced in strength and requires great care and constant rest. The children are dear little things. Dora a perfect beauty, wild and waggish, young as she is; Beatrice, very gentle and winsome, with pretty speeches, but not half the quickness and cleverness of little Georgie, and not so attractive; but still they are very beautiful children...

The family circle was now greatly reduced, only the eldest daughter remaining in the home, and also a little invalid grandchild, the youngest daughter of Mrs. Robie Uniacke (who died in 1867)—the special pet and protégée of her grandparents.

The heaviest stroke of misfortune, however, befell them in 1881, when their beloved and only son, who had been attacked with typhoid fever in the spring, and whose health had been slowly but surely failing all through the autumn and winter, at length passed away at Summer-ville, South Carolina, whither, as a last resource, he had gone in hope of recovery. He was a young man of great promise and of sterling worth; the pride and joy of his parents, and deeply beloved by all who knew him. In

the prime of life, with everything to live for, he was torn by the ruthless hand of death from his devoted young wife and infant daughter.¹

But this bereavement and all the consequent anxiety it gave them as to the future of the young widow and her child, told heavily upon the strength and physical health of both Mr. Archibald and his wife, so that, in 1882, it was thought wise for them to take a trip to England, in the hope that a complete change of surroundings might prove beneficial. It was during this furlough that Mr. Archibald asked to be relieved from his consular duties, realising that he had few, if any, reserves of strength left to cope with the heavy responsibilities of his office. His letter of resignation was received with the utmost regret by the Home Government, as the following dispatch will show.

From Earl Granville

FOREIGN OFFICE,
July 29, 1882.

Sir,

I am directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 12th instant, requesting His Lordship's permission to retire from the public service on the 10th of next October, and to resign the post you now hold of Her Majesty's Consul-General in New York.

I am now to state to you, in reply, that His Lordship regrets that circumstances compel you to place your resignation in his hands, and, in informing you that it is accepted, he has requested me to convey to you his high appreciation of the valuable services that you have rendered to Her Majesty's Government in the various offices that you have successively held in Her Majesty's Consular Service.

I am further to transmit to you, herewith, a superannuation form to be filled up by you, and, on its return to this Department, His Lord-

¹ Although almost crushed by this heavy calamity, my father's faith in God sustained him wonderfully in those dark days of grief and sorrow and it was with a wondering admiration that I noted the sublime patience and resignation with which he bore this irreparable loss.

ship will have pleasure in recommending The Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to grant you the highest pension to which your services may entitle you.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant

LISTER.

During this visit to England there came to the Consul-General the first hint as to the honours soon to be bestowed, and which were so fitly to round out his long and brilliant career. Writing from England to one of her daughters, his wife says—alluding to this matter:

Papa has had a most complimentary dispatch from Lord Granville accepting his resignation with the greatest regret and saying that in recognition of his great service, the Queen had been pleased to confer on him the Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George (K.C.M.G.), so he will still have the C.B. after that. He will be gazetted to-morrow, I believe. If we were living in England, a title would be a great advantage, but I don't think we shall ever be called by our proper titles in America, for people do not understand them there. We have yet to hear what the pension is to be. We hope £1,080 which is the most they can give, and Lord Granville said he would have pleasure in recommending him for the highest pension he could get.

We have not yet decided by which ship we shall go, most likely on the 12th; but send your next letters to this address as usual, they will be forwarded wherever we are. I suppose Papa will have to go to Osborne to receive his decoration; at least I hope he will get it from his Sovereign's hands....

We shall not know for another six months (if we are spared so long) whether we will settle in England or not. I do not think we can live in New York, for I do not see how I can make our expenses much less than they are—house rent is the monster to contend with, and a title in America will be rather a nuisance than otherwise, for it is not understood there. I have no doubt that Papa can get on Insurance Boards, in fact the London and Liverpool have asked him already to join their Board, and if the mines in which he is interested will only pay a dividend this year, as he expects, we can remain in New York, the climate of which will suit me better than the cold damp of England.

On August 1st, the Consul-General received the following:

From Earl Granville

FOREIGN OFFICE,
LONDON, ENGLAND,
August 1, 1882.

Sir,

I have much pleasure in acquainting you that on my recommendation the Queen has been graciously pleased to approve of your being appointed a Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, on the occasion of your resignation of the appointment of Her Majesty's Consul-General at New York, and in recognition of the distinguished zeal and ability which have marked the discharge of the difficult and responsible duties which have devolved upon you whilst in Her Majesty's service. I am

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

GRANVILLE.

His long career of usefulness thus fitly crowned with his Sovereign's approbation, Sir Edward Archibald, with his family, once more sailed for his home.

But yet another sad bereavement awaited them at New York, where even as they landed from the steamer, they were met with the news of the death, at Halifax, Nova Scotia, of their daughter Mrs. T. C. Kinnear; whilst but a few days later their eldest daughter Elizabeth was called upon to undergo a very severe and dangerous operation, from which, however, she, happily, recovered.

CHAPTER XVI

REWARDED WITH HONOURS

THE closing year of Sir Edward Archibald's career as British Consul-General at New York City, was crowded with distinction and honours. From his intimate friends, as also from the large number of citizens who knew him, but with whom he was not personally acquainted, there came, daily, expressions of their esteem and appreciation, both of the man himself and of his services. There can be little doubt that his unfailing tact and wisdom had been most important factors in bringing about a better mutual knowledge and a closer understanding between England and America. He never, on any possible occasion, neglected an opportunity of promoting harmony and good will in the relations of the two countries.

The St. George's Society, with which he had been very closely identified during the whole period of his Consulship at New York, feelingly expressed their appreciation of his services and their regret at the prospect of parting from him.

The announcement that Mr. Archibald was to have conferred on him the high honour of Knighthood of the Order of St. Michael and St. George was received with the greatest satisfaction in the City of New York; one of the leading dailies expressing in the following complimentary terms the attitude of the people towards him:

Probably there is no government in the world which knows its employes so well and rewards them so well according to their services

as that of Her Britannic Majesty. Sometimes it happens that men of little real capacity make a highly successful career as governors, diplomats, or consuls in important places, because they have the good luck only to be at the helm in calm seas; but as a rule the true merit appears if it be there, and is recognized and duly rewarded. When the British consulship at New York last became vacant (in 1857), Lord Clarendon's pigeon-holes were full of applications before he filled it up, and the place was, we believe, vacant for months. Half the people in the consular service and a great many out of it were confident of their special and particular aptitude for the post, but it was given to a gentleman who had never thought of applying for it. Circumstances had years before brought Sir Edward Archibald under the attention of Lord Clarendon, and convinced that shrewd statesman that he was just the man for a post which for its due discharge requires a combination of qualities hard to find. It was desirable to have a lawyer, and Sir Edward had held a high legal position in the British provinces. Then, too, he was a man of the world in the best sense, also acquainted with this country, and possessed an urbanity, conciliatory demeanour, judgment, and address which made the Foreign Office feel that in an emergency he could be thoroughly relied on to do the right thing. The emergency came, notably in our war, and it may be safely stated that during that period no two Americans worked much harder and were more worried and bothered than Lord Lyons, then Minister at Washington, and Sir Edward Archibald. It was in recognition of his services at that time that he received the Order of the Bath, and his official career now closes with his appointment as Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George, and the highest pension in the power of the Crown to award. No congratulations which Sir Edward and Lady Archibald receive will be heartier than those of our American friends.

During the long period of his service in New York, Sir Edward, as the representative of British commercial interests, had many close and intimate dealings with the New York Chamber of Commerce and had also been an honoured guest at their banquets, in particular that of the year 1875, celebrating the one hundred and seventh anniversary of this important body. This especially brilliant function took place at "Delmonico's" and for splendour of decoration and the sumptuousness of its rare and

costly menu, it far surpassed all previous gatherings. On this occasion the Consul-General was called upon to respond to the following toast and sentiment: "Her Britannic Majesty Queen Victoria: Her wise and beneficent reign will constitute one of the brightest chapters in England's history"—which he did in an eloquent speech which may fittingly be reproduced here.

If I seem to exhibit hesitation in obeying the call which you have made upon me it is because, in accordance with established usage, no subject of her Majesty—at least in her own dominions—undertakes to return thanks for the toast of the Queen's health. The invariable response to that toast is embodied and expressed in our grand old national anthem the majestic air of which you have appropriated and in America have consecrated to the most patriotic of your national hymns. But, Sir, it is to me a privilege, and a very pleasing duty, to return thanks for the toast you have proposed in honour of the Queen, and for the very gratifying manner in which it has been received. In responding to this toast I find it difficult to speak in adequate terms of praise of one who is above praise—of one who rules not alone over the liberty, but in the hearts, of her people—who, whether as a wife, a mother, or a Queen, commands our admiration and deserves our heartfelt affection—whose name is justly hailed with acclamations of respect and veneration wherever it is pronounced, whether at home or abroad.

It is not easy to estimate the refining and elevating influence of such a character as that of Queen Victoria, standing out as it does amid the fierce light which beats upon the throne ever more and more pure and bright; it is not easy, I say, to estimate the refining influence of such a character, not merely in her own family, her own court, her own country, but in all other civilized countries. It is the consciousness of those domestic virtues which lend dignity and lustre to the throne—this it is which strikes a responsive chord of respect and esteem in the breasts of good men and true the world over wherever the name of the good Queen of England is mentioned. Maintaining our devotion to the principles of limited monarchy—to the person of our beloved Sovereign—and to legislative and executive institutions, working in conformity with the popular will, what benefits and blessings has not Providence vouchsafed to our nation under the long and prosperous reign of the Queen. And sure I am that not one among all her subjects entertains a more

sincere regard for this country and more ardent aspirations for the welfare of its people than does the Queen herself. In this, the Metropolis of the Western World, in which she can claim no allegiance, she has, I am sure, the homage of your hearts; and, as her humble and unworthy representative, I thank you on her behalf, cordially and sincerely, for the honour you have done her in the toast just proposed and for the gratifying and enthusiastic reception which you have given to the name of the Queen.

And now, Mr. President, will you permit me to refer very briefly to matters cognate to my official connection with the City of New York—or rather to the commercial relations of Great Britain with this great emporium of the Western World. But, Sir, when I look about me and find myself surrounded by so much of what—to use a commercial figure—I may designate as gilt-edged paper, I feel myself at a considerable discount in saying anything upon commercial topics, even though I should invoke the inspiration of the *genus loci*. Still, it is my vocation to deal with commercial subjects since I have the honour to be the commercial representative of your largest and wealthiest customer. Of the whole foreign trade of the City of New York, a proportion amounting to nearly if not quite three-fifths is carried on with Great Britain and her dependencies. In the course of my official duty, I have had occasion not long since to write the history of the growth and progress, and to report on the condition and prospects, of British trade at this port. That history is simply the witness of the almost fabulous growth and increase of New York. I am not, Mr. President, going to inflict statistics upon you; that would be an ungracious return for your generous hospitality. I wish merely to call your attention to two or three significant and interesting facts, and to offer an observation or two naturally resulting from them. In the year 1791, the total value of the exports from New York to all the countries of the world was but \$2,500.00. The imports were, I suppose, of so much smaller value as not to have been recorded. Contrast with this the year 1872, in which the value of British trade alone with this port, *i.e.* the value of exports to and imports from the British Dominions, amounted to the enormous sum of \$410,500,000. During the last two years it has, of course, declined proportionately to the general decline of trade. Again, in the year 1831 the total British tonnage entered at this port was 44,250 tons. Last year, 1874, it was not less than 2,200,000 tons. With no other port on this habitable globe does Great Britain carry on anything approaching the vast trade which she

carries on with New York. Now, Sir, what I wish to advert to in connection with these facts is this, that having so great a stake in the prosperity of New York—for your welfare is our advantage—those whom I represent feel the deepest interest in the adoption of those measures and in the completion of those projects which are essential to the maintenance of that commercial supremacy which New York now enjoys, and which, if maintained, will ultimately make her what London now is, the centre of commerce and the counting-house of the world.

You will have noticed the foresight and energy with which that vigorous young giant on your northern frontier [Canada] is widening and deepening her canals and improving her internal water communications. Those improvements cannot but be of incalculable value to the grain-growing regions of your Western States. But, Sir, of not less, nay, of far greater importance to British maritime trade is the increase and enlargement of all those internal highways of commerce which converge upon New York, more particularly the deepening and widening of the Erie Canal. In the making of this great artery of traffic equal to the exigencies of an ever-increasing commerce—in the providing of terminal facilities and the curtailing of terminal charges and burdens — in all that relates to your docks and piers, the preservation of your noble harbour, the protection and sanitary care of seamen, your Customs and quarantine regulations—in these, and other essential aids to the growth of commerce, those whom I represent have a deep and common interest with yourselves. These are matters, Mr. President, of which the members of your honourable chamber are the legitimate guardians, and in respect of which an important trust devolves upon you. You here preside at the gates of the Western World, through which the surplus population of my own country and of the countries represented by my consular brethren is being poured into this vast receptacle of nations. You protect, you relieve, you employ the destitute emigrant, the often forlorn and unconscious instrument of a grand and benevolent dispensation. You pass him on to a new, and, let us hope, a happy home in the West.

In all these matters my brother Consuls and myself, the commercial representatives of our respective countries have no *locus standi* in your tribunal—no voice in your deliberations—but we are parties in interest; and to you, who are by charter entitled to speak for the Empire State and City of New York in commercial affairs, we look with entire confidence for the fulfillment of the trust with which

you are clothed in regard to those things upon which our commercial and maritime prosperity depends in common with your own. It is because, for my own part, I feel that confidence, that, faithful to the traditions you inherit and following the example of the great and good men whose names are emblazoned on the honoured roll of your venerable body, you will so exercise your powers as to promote the welfare of all, whether aliens or fellow-citizens, who may come within the scope of your functions—it is for these reasons, and on this account, that I highly appreciate the honour you have done me in inviting me to be one of your guests here to-night.

There was, perhaps, no greater compliment paid to Sir Edward Archibald upon his retirement from the post of Consul-General at New York than the gracious act of the New York Chamber of Commerce which, on February 1st, 1883, passed unanimously a resolution, moved by Charles S. Smith, Chairman of the Executive Committee, making him an honorary member of that distinguished body. The letter conveying to him the news of this mark of distinction was beautifully engrossed, and carried with it a copy of the minute recording the proceeding. Sir Edward's reply shows his very sincere appreciation of this signal honour.

¹The order of business having been suspended, on motion of Mr. James M. Brown, Mr. Charles S. Smith, Chairman of the Executive Committee, rose and said:

Mr. President: Among the functions of this Chamber is that of conferring honorary membership on men eminent for their public services in the interest of commerce. I think it would be very difficult to name any one who deserves the honor more than the gentleman I have been requested to nominate, in behalf of the Committee, SIR EDWARD MORTIMER ARCHIBALD, K.C.M.G., C.B.

Through a long career of over a quarter of a century this gentleman has fulfilled the duties of Consul-General in Her Britannic Majesty's service at this port with a skill, tact, and courtesy difficult to equal. In so doing he has acquired a wide knowledge of the commer-

¹Extract from the Minutes of the monthly meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, of the State of New York, held February 1, 1883.

cial interests of this country, and of all questions relating to mercantile and international law. There are many subjects discussed in this Chamber in which his wide experience may be useful to us. I am happy to say that this nomination will not be a mere compliment to a distinguished gentleman. It is, I believe, Sir Edward Archibald's intention to continue to reside among us, and I hope we may often see him present at our meetings. While conferring upon him a mark of our high consideration, we shall add to the roll of members the name of one who has done so much to cement the intimate relations between the two great English-speaking nations, whose cordiality and friendship are the best guarantees for the peace and progress of the world.

Believing that the action of the Chamber of Commerce in New York in regard to making my father an honorary member was to the best of my knowledge the only instance of this honour having been bestowed upon the British representative in that city, I wrote to the President, Mr. Irving T. Bush, to enquire, and received from him the following reply:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
65 LIBERTY STREET, NEW YORK

MRS. CHARLES ARCHIBALD,

April 11th, 1923

HOTEL UPHAM,

SANTA BARBARA, CAL.

My dear Mrs. Archibald,

I have your letter of April 2nd, and I am glad to give you the information you desire.

Your father, Sir Edward Mortimer Archibald, was elected an honorary member of the Chamber on February 1, 1883, because of his long service as Consul-General in this city. We have failed to find record of any other Consular officers being elected to honorary membership in the Chamber. It is true we have had a number of members of the Chamber who have acted as Consular officers of various countries, but they were not honorary members, nor were they apparently elected because of their official position.

The Chamber has had a very limited number of honorary members and I am quite sure that your father was the only Consular officer so elected. I think you are therefore safe in saying that it was

not only the first, but so far the only occasion that this honor was conferred upon a foreign Consul.

Trusting that this will serve your purpose, I am

Very sincerely yours,

IRVING T. BUSH,
President.

The resignation of Consul-General Archibald had been arranged to take effect from January 1st, 1883, and he now went quietly to work to prepare for what was to him, after fifty-one years of public service, a most momentous and far-reaching change. Accordingly, he bent all his energies to leave his official affairs in good shape for his successor, Mr. William Lane Booker, then Consul-General at San Francisco, who, by seniority of service, was to succeed to his position.

Ever a lover of hard work and as keen, after twenty-six years of consular experience, as when he first entered upon his duties in 1857, Sir Edward could not but have many regrets in parting with the occupation of a quarter century. It is little to be wondered that he should have so expressed his feelings in the following passage from a letter:

The sands of my official life are fast running out. Another month and I shall have laid down my official rôle. I begin to be uneasy in the prospect of having no regular employment. I shall have to get up a *mock consulate*!

The prospect of retiring from active work was, however, accompanied by a good deal of anxiety. Although he had been promised by the Foreign Office that his pension should represent the largest amount possible, it would not suffice if he were to remain in New York, to maintain him, unless supplemented in some manner. It is in reference to this that he thus expressed himself (writing from England in 1882) to his daughter Mrs. T. C. Kinnear:

To Mrs. T. C. Kinnear

EXMOUTH, ENGLAND,

August 30th.

My dear Emily:

... I have had little or no holiday since I came over from New York. I had hoped to spend two or three days more here where the air is delicious—but after your mother wrote you yesterday I received two telegrams which necessitate my hurrying back to London and down to Crewe or Chester on public business. It is very disappointing, and I must see if I cannot cross the country from Bristol to Chester and so save one journey. I remember you and Mr C. performed the cross-country journey to Liverpool in 1867. I feel the rapid motion of the railways here much more than in the United States.

You know that I have now retired from the Service, or rather I go out finally on the 31st December. It is a great pecuniary sacrifice as my pension will not be much more than one-third of my full salary. But I feel the work much in winter and your mother and Lizzie were so anxious that I should retire and I felt also myself that the anxious duties of the post would be so much more wearing with defective eyesight and the increasing infirmities of age that in taking this step I believe I have done what was right. I must determine before next May, if I live till then, whether we shall remain in New York or come over to settle in this country. Many considerations incline me to the latter course, and I could live more cheaply and comfortably here than in America. I cannot now look forward to many years, or I should properly say months of earthly existence, and my desire is to spend them in more leisure than I have ever yet had—and in preparing for the change which must soon overtake me. Yesterday fifty years ago was the date of my first commission under the sign manual of William IV. The honour which the Queen has conferred upon me I could almost wish had been withheld, but it was so kindly offered that it would have been ungracious to decline it. I value it only as a certificate of "good behaviour." At my time of life it has not much attraction for me. I have this consolation with it, that, while, for short and other not important services, some are so honoured, I may be said to have earned the distinction by the service of a lifetime....

Yet there is also no doubt that he longed for some period of rest and leisure; and one of the objects he had

in mind was to write his personal recollections of the many interesting experiences of his official life as Consul and Consul-General in New York. "If no one else cares to read about it," he wrote to his youngest daughter, Mrs. Charles Archibald, "your Tommy¹ will one day be interested in what I have to tell." It is a thousand pities that the book was never written, and that the hand of Death arrested him while he was gathering together and arranging the material for his manuscript!

On New Year's Day 1883, he thus wrote to his daughter Edith:

To Mrs. Charles Archibald

My dearest Edith:

...To-day is the finest New Year's Day I have seen for years. We, of course, are not receiving visitors as indeed are few of our neighbours. Your mother has a sort of attack of indigestion for nearly a week past and has suffered a good deal of pain. She is better to-day but still an invalid. Lizzie is pretty well but not strong, and not in very good spirits. Katie, also, has been poorly but is mending again, and I am not *over bright*—so we are "among the middlings." The doctor says it is partly owing to the too fine weather! Lower mercury would do us all good. But glory be to God for His mercies to us during the past year—in how many ways and forms! True, He has in His inscrutable wisdom taken two of our dear ones to Himself; but, if we could know all we should be sure that here again He has been dealing lovingly with them, and to us who survive. Let us trust Him *fully*, and meekly submit to His will, and earnestly seek to be guided by His Holy Spirit. It seems almost presumptuous in me to be looking forward to another New Year. I feel that I ought to set myself steadily to making my preparations for the great change which cannot be far off, but how difficult to disentangle oneself of the world, its business, its cares and attractions! I have now made one step towards it in laying down my office. To-day I am no longer Consul-General or in H.M. Service. I cannot help feeling deep regret in parting with

¹This grandson (his first) Thomas Dickson Archibald (now Dr. T. D. Archibald of Toronto) was very dear to him, having been born in the Consul-General's house in New York in 1876. After the death of Mr. Archibald's only son, Edward Brenton in 1881, he seemed to consider his grandson somewhat in the light of his heir.

the occupation of years, but I hope to find some light and less responsible work so that I may not feel time irksome on my hands. Indeed, I shall find this necessary in order to add something to my income if (as seems now all but settled) we continue to reside here. My successor is Mr. Booker, consul at San Francisco....

The most outstanding instance of popular regard for Sir Edward took the form of a farewell banquet, which was given in his honour at Delmonico's on the evening of January 29th, 1883. At this function, which was attended by over two hundred of New York's most representative men—bankers, lawyers, clergymen, preachers, authors, and statesmen of national fame and reputation—he received a further expression of the good-will of his American friends in the form of a magnificently illuminated address, engrossed on vellum, and enclosed in a beautiful casket. This document was signed by over eight hundred of the leading citizens of New York.

No detail that could possibly enhance the brilliance or emphasize the importance of this banquet was omitted. The menu cards, of unusual size, bore on the cover of each an exquisite reproduction in water-colour of the coat-of-arms, crest and motto of the guest of honour.

Governor Cleveland and his illustrious guest the Marquis of Lorne (at that time Governor-General of Canada) were expected to be at the banquet, which was presided over by William M. Evarts (then Secretary of State), but at the last moment, owing to the unexpected departure of the Marquis of Lorne, they were prevented from being present.

At the table of honour, the guests were as follows: Wm. M. Evarts (Chairman), Sir Edward M. Archibald, John Jay, Royal Phelps, Hon. A. A. Low, William E. Dodge, Edwin D. Morgan, Hamilton Fish, (Ex-Secretary of State), Joseph H. Choate, Franklin Edson, John S.

Kennedy and Pierrepont Edwards.¹ The two seats on the left of the Chairman had been reserved for the Governor and the Marquis of Lorne.

The decorations of the banquet-hall were all in keeping with the occasion, and included a large portrait of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, flanked by the British Royal Standard on the right, and the Stars and Stripes on the left.

Mr. Evarts was of course the first speaker, and gave one of the happiest and wittiest of those delightful speeches for which he was so justly noted. It is largely reproduced here, from the columns of the *New York Daily Tribune* of January 30th, 1883.

I am happy, gentlemen, to thank you for the honour which has been done me by the committee in asking me to preside over so distinguished a company, and to congratulate you still more on being so distinguished a company. These occasions, on which two great nations can, as it were, shake hands—I will not say across the water, for that would be a stretch of politeness that neither of us nations would ever condescend to, but over the wine—are not of infrequent occurrence, and we all enjoy them; but this particular occasion repeats itself, if it is ever repeated, only once in twenty-five years. In meeting to pay our respects to the Consul whom we have known, to the Consul-General whom we have known, to Mr. Archibald whom we have known, and to Sir Edward Archibald, whose acquaintance we are happy to make, we are doing ourselves a greater pleasure than we can offer him. In our appreciation of him, of his character and service, we feel that we may pride ourselves in the good qualities which make us appreciate him.

Mr. Evarts proposed, amid repeated cheers: “The health of our guest to-night, Sir Edward Mortimer Archibald. For his services in the common interest and prosperity of two great kindred nations, both countries delight to do him honour.” Mr. Evarts said:

¹Pierrepont Edwards had been British Consul for some years, and had under him two Vice-Consuls at the time of this banquet.

It gives me, Sir Edward, great pleasure personally and as a citizen of New York, to represent, for the moment, the feeling of this distinguished company which by its attendance here but expresses the feeling of all the citizens of this great centre of commerce. To be sure, to our short-lived office-holders in a republic it seems somewhat stupendous to hear of a man who has served his country uninterruptedly and always for its good and its good fame, for fifty years. Why, even in our country, for its share of your public services to the Crown, you carry us back to an almost pre-historic period. I mean, to be sure, to the time when the Democratic party was in power; but I am not sure but after you go, the deluge will come and they will be in power again. Whether in the earlier services that you rendered to your Government for twenty-five years before you rose above our horizon you had as grateful and as appreciative and applaudive communities about you as you have had here, I do not know. It is very plain that Newfoundland is too far from us for us to scan or penetrate its private or its public life; but it is equally plain that we are too far from Newfoundland for you to have found us out in every corner of our character even before you got here. One of the earliest experiences about consuls and consulates that I had in the office that superintended all their affairs was a letter which I received from a remote town in a Northwest State, written in very good style and in a beautiful hand, in which the writer opened his reason for being made a consul in this touching introduction, which gained my heart at once. He said: "I have no excuse to offer for intruding upon your leisure or consuming the public time except a pardonable desire to live elsewhere." Now whether your happy, peaceful, and contented life in Newfoundland was disturbed by any such pardonable longing you never have confided it to me, nor, I suspect, even to Her Majesty the Queen. I know that your appointment came unsolicited and unthought on your part. But really it was a very good schooling for a man that was to be thrown into the midst of these Americans, to have served, as you had, first as Clerk of the Supreme Court of that Province, commencing in the year 1832, then as a member of its executive and its legislative councils, then as Attorney-General from 1848 until you came here; all the while having had that advantage which I prize, and which all men prize though they won't allow it—the advantage of having been a lawyer.

Lord Palmerston once, when some of his appointments of Consuls were questioned, said to the House of Commons that the office of Consul was one that every man supposed himself competent for—for what

he had been and for what he had not been. If he were a lawyer he thought that was a recommendation; if he had not been a lawyer he thought that was a recommendation. If he had been a soldier, if he had been a sailor, if he had been an artist, if he had been an editor, if he had been a poet, if he had even been a gentleman and nothing else he thought that was a qualification for a Consul. Now, that might have been Lord Palmerston's experience and all that he got out of the observation of Consuls; but the people of this city have made up their minds in the converse light, that a man who is fit and has proved himself to be fit to be a good and a great Consul for twenty-five years, is fit for anything. It is very difficult in a great centre like this—in a great city of the world, wherever that city may be—to be a Consul that shall advance all and defend all the proper interests of one's own country, and at the same time propitiate and justify the good feeling of the other; but it is a trifle between any other nations compared with what it is between your nation and ours. The various nations have an international reputation among nations. That I gave some study to some years ago. Our nation, as all the world knows, has the reputation of always getting in somebody's way; but your nation is not so much better off in its international reputation, for your nation has the reputation of never getting out of anybody's way. Now, to be a Consul and to go off without ever having allowed us to get in your way, nor allowed your nation to get out of our way, and yet have the respect and affection of the community in which you have lived, I am sure is a great praise, even for a British servant of the Crown. The only way in which this can come about is not merely by your being always right, for some people get into hot water by being right; not even by being occasionally wrong, because some people get into worse predicaments by being wrong. Not even much, I am afraid, is to be conceded to our good temper and our good manners—good temper and good manners which we all appreciate ourselves, but which other nations never take the same view of. The Roman moralist, satirist, poet, has said that it is very difficult to say common things with propriety. This is equally true of actions; it is very difficult to do common things and throw any grace and charm and eloquence into the act. But saying common things and doing things make up human life. And being able to say them and do them with propriety, with ease, with elegance, with justice, makes the difference in private life between good manners and bad; and makes the difference between governments and their subjects or citizens, of oppression or of confidence and allegiance, makes

in diplomacy the difference between a bad foreign secretary, a bad foreign minister, a bad foreign consul, and a good one of each of these functions. And it is better by far that the friction of common life and of public life should be lubricated by this oil and cheered with this wine, than that it should be embittered and soured even when the substance and the sense are all meant to be right.

But it would be an imperfect view of the difficulties in the place which you have been called to fill, and but little justice to your mode of filling it and to the good results that have followed, if I left it to be thought that there had been a smooth and even tenor of affairs between these great countries and these kindred nations during the term that you have served the Crown and have helped and benefitted our people. It has generally been thought that it was an inconvenience that foreign ministers should be sent abroad who could not speak the tongue of the nation to which they were sent, and could not understand it. My own reflections on that subject have told me that the countries are kept out of a good deal of difficulty by that imperfect relation, and I have thought that it might be well, and it certainly would have attracted attention, if I had been able to find somebody to go to the Court of England who could not speak or understand English. Of course the same facility of a common tongue in bringing people into an understanding between themselves is likely to precipitate them into a misunderstanding among themselves. But with you, sir, who have known always when to be silent and when to speak, and how to be silent and how to speak, why, the more points, the more sentiments, the more faculties by which you could be in close communion with our people, the better for the good understanding and the peace of the two countries. I do not think that it is possible to exaggerate the multitude, the delicacy of the many questions that you have been called upon to handle, to treat, and to dispose of.

During the Civil War, when many things were happening upon the seas that were not pleasant to our people, and many things were happening upon the land that were not pleasant to yours, there was an opportunity for all sorts of difficulties, and every month was not without its danger; but, sir, everything was handled with attention to the right. You had been educated as a lawyer. You had learned the wise maxim of the common law, *sic utere tuo ut non alteri laedas*—so to exercise your rights as not to trespass upon the rights of others. And while there were many who were desirous that umbrage and quarrel and criticism should break out into the flames of war, you had

no such desire, your ministers had no such desire, and the good sense of the two peoples, which they hold in common, carried them through a season of rupture and of friction that no other nations could have survived without an outbreak. Now, this is the tact not merely of experience and of discipline, but it is the nicer moral sensibility to justice and to truth; it is the appreciation that quarrel and war are but the clouds and the mist and the hail, but peace is the sunshine and the fruitfulness of the earth.

I do not know, sir, how we should have looked upon the release from service that was granted by your sovereign, at your request, if it were to have severed you from our midst and taken you from this city and from this country. I see that some of our cautious citizens, fearing such a possible catastrophe, have provided for lodging you in a Safe Deposit Company, a caution no doubt creditable to us and not, I hope, injurious to you. But I am detaining you from what I have now the honour to present—the address of our citizens, signed by more than seven hundred of the excellent men of this city, of both nationalities. Everybody here has signed it, and those that are absent are full as good as those that are here.

The address of the citizens of New York to the retiring Consul-General was read by Mr. Evarts. The document was on parchment, beautifully engrossed and bearing at its head the armorial device of Sir Edward's family. The address was as follows:

Your retirement from the position which you have so long occupied in this community, as the official representative of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, is an event which cannot be regarded with indifference by any one who has at heart the best interests of the two countries—that which you have so worthily represented and that to which you were accredited.

When, in 1857, you were nominated Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at this port, the record of your past services under the Crown in the Colonies gave assurance that British interests would be properly cared for and the Government worthily represented at this point. It was not, however, until the unhappy breaking out of war in this country that the wisdom and discernment of character on the part of Her Majesty's advisers, which had originally led to your appointment, could be fully realized. When, in connection with the stirring events

of those days, the relations of the two countries occasionally became so strained as to make the preservation of peace between them a matter of grave doubt, both nations were indebted to you for the admirable tact with which you performed the duties of your office, suddenly transformed into one of immense responsibility. While asserting the rights of your countrymen, and jealously watching over their interests, you yet did nothing to provoke hard feeling on the part of the Government or people of this country, but, on the contrary, co-operated so heartily and judiciously with Lord Lyons, then Her Britannic Majesty's Minister to Washington, in securing the continuance of friendly relations, as to merit and receive the respect of all right-minded persons of both nationalities.

Your course since those exciting days has only served to increase our respect and admiration for your character. Called upon by your Government to perform many duties of a most delicate and responsible character, you have ever been found equal to the occasion. The honour bestowed upon you by Her Majesty in 1865—the marked exception to official routine which characterized the request that you should continue to hold your office when you had attained to that age which generally governs retirement from service, and finally, the new honours bestowed upon you by Her Majesty on the occasion of your actual retirement, all show that your services have not been unappreciated by your own Government.

Rest assured that you will also carry with you into private life the respect of all who appreciate fidelity to high trusts, and the warm personal regard of all who have had the privilege of your personal acquaintance and friendship. That you may be long spared to enjoy your well-earned leisure, and that your lot may still be cast among us, is the earnest wish of those who subscribe themselves with sentiments of the very highest esteem.

Sir Edward, wearing his decorations of the Orders of St. Michael and St. George, and of the Bath, replied as follows:

I feel myself truly at a loss for words with which to express to you, Mr. Chairman, my grateful sense of the kind manner in which, referring to my official career, you have, in terms of unmerited commendation, proposed the toast of my health; and sincere thanks to all of you, gentlemen, for the enthusiastic manner in which you have

received that toast. Neither am I able adequately to express my feelings of gratitude to all those by and in behalf of whom this address has been presented to me, on my retirement from the public service of my country. Greatly overestimating any merit on my part, still its kindly words of good-will and regard, which I am sure are sincere, come home to my heart and will ever be treasured in my memory. In the retrospect of a long life of official labour, I seem to see chiefly failings and shortcomings. I can plead only an earnest desire at all times rightly to discharge my duties. That the manner in which they have been performed should have received the approval of Her Majesty's Government is more than ample reward. That this approval should have been followed by the honours which the Queen has graciously conferred upon me, is not less gratifying. But I ask myself, what can have entitled me to this splendid demonstration of respect and regard, not alone from my fellow-countrymen, but from so many prominent official, professional, and commercial members of the American community of New York? May I not rightly attribute it to a feeling of respect and good-will toward the old Mother-country, whence directly or remotely, nearly all of us have come, and to that sentiment of profound admiration which throughout this broad land is ever felt and expressed for that noble Sovereign Lady who adorns the throne of the greatest earthly monarchy, and whose unworthy consular representative I have been these many years among you? To whatever cause it may be due, again Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, I thank you with all my heart.

Early trained in that honourable profession of which you, Mr. Chairman, are so distinguished a member, I entered the public service more than fifty years ago, in the colony of Newfoundland, to which I was assigned. I filled, during nearly a quarter of a century, several offices connected with the Judiciary, the Legislature and the Government of that province. My career was not an uneventful one, but I will mention only one incident. While filling the office of Attorney-General and leader of the local government, I had the opportunity—for the responsibility rested almost entirely upon myself—of advising and promoting the grant of concessions which furnished the earliest, and a most substantial, encouragement of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable. I retired from the Colonial Service with the thanks of Her Majesty's Government, and with that which I valued not less, the expression of the hearty good-will of the kind people among whom I had spent so many of the best years of my life, and whose kindness I can never

forget. Two years later I received, altogether unexpected by me, the appointment to the Consulship of New York, which I have held for twenty-five years, almost more eventful perhaps than any equal period in the history of the United States. Here I found my previous official training of service in fulfilling the peculiar duties of this important post.

The consular office is, as you are well aware, one of many-sided functions and multifarious duties. The extent and character of these depend principally upon the commercial, political, and social relations of the Consul's nation with the country of his residence. I need scarcely say that with no place on the globe does Great Britain carry on so vast a trade, maritime and commercial, as with New York. During my own time the tonnage of British ships yearly entering at this port has increased from 200,000 to about 4,000,000 tons; the number of their seamen from 10,000 to nearly 90,000; while the commerce of the two nations carried on through New York is estimated at many hundred million dollars. Here, too, at the great portal of America, enter, in year by year, scores of thousands of British subjects of whom those who fall into trouble in the interior seem to know only the Consul at their port of landing. Then, too, besides inquiries into and reports on all branches of manufacture and other industries, educational and social progress, there are important and delicate duties of a political nature, carried on in subordination to Her Majesty's representative at Washington. But the incidental duties of a British Consul in such a cosmopolitan city as this, and of which no official account is taken, are almost as burdensome and harassing as those of his regular routine. One of the most gifted of American authors in that charming book, *Our Old Home*, has devoted a chapter to "Consular Experiences." I feel quite sure that if Hawthorne had been in my place all these years he would have found unlimited material out of which to construct most interesting romances of real life.

Mr. Chairman, during the first three years of my service here I was much occupied in detecting and reporting slave-trading expeditions. It would astonish those who listen to me if they knew to how great an extent that abominable traffic was then carried on, with almost entire impunity, not by American citizens, but by foreigners, who made this country, and especially this city, the seat and centre of their operations. I believe I was enabled to report every expedition which during these years was fitted out, not alone from United States ports but from those of the West Indies and the continent of Europe. Without the mutual right of search which I had urged, and owing to

adverse influences, little or nothing could be done to suppress the traffic. But with the outbreak of the Civil War there came a sudden revulsion of public sentiment on the whole subject of slavery. Speedy convictions were obtained, and very soon the accursed traffic was swept into the depths of the ocean. Then it was that a treaty with the United States, embracing the mutual right of search, was negotiated, and under it there was established an international tribunal, a Court of Mixed Commission, for the trial of slavers captured under either flag and brought into the United States courts for adjudication. Of this court I was appointed Her Majesty's Judge; and one of the worthiest and most estimable of men, the late Mr. Truman Smith,¹ was the United States judge. We had each an assistant judge, styled Arbitrator, and needful officers. We were sworn into office and took our seats on the bench with imposing ceremonies; but our labours were light. With the concession of the right of search the object of search had disappeared; and in vain we looked for that long expected slaver which never made her appearance in the Narrows. My dear old friend and myself met occasionally, and did our best to maintain the *entente cordiale* in those trying times; but after some eight years our Government discovered the painful fact that we had never had the ghost of a case, and so they abolished the court and extinguished the commission. My Government was not unmindful of what was due to the dignity of the judicial office, but my worthy colleague was, I fear, not so well provided for. They do say that republics are ungrateful!

At that time, sir, or rather before it, came the Civil War. It was, indeed, a time of great anxiety and labour, by night and by day, involving incessant correspondence, occasionally sharp controversy, with the various functionaries of the Federal and State governments; necessitating also frequent visits to Fort Lafayette, Ludlow Street Jail, the receiving-ship at Brooklyn, and Hart's Island; the protection and defence, in the first instance, of captured ships and cargoes; vexed questions of allegiance and naturalization, and innumerable complaints of forcible or fraudulent enlistment, with all their attendant grievances. Not the least difficult part of my duty occasionally was the irrepressible ardour of the *Civis Romanus*—the British subject—who could make no allowance for a state of war, or martial law, and seemed to think, very naturally, that no one but an Englishman had a right to go to war.

¹My father was much surprised to receive from his old colleague, a few days after the dinner, a most affectionate and cordial letter—he being not, as the Consul thought dead, but in excellent health and spirits, although in his 94th year.

And here, sir, I desire to bear my grateful testimony to the patience, forbearance and uniform courtesy which I met with from all the different functionaries with whom I then came in contact. In the performance of these harassing and responsible duties I was sustained and guided by the judicious counsel of that most able and self-sacrificing public servant, Lord Lyons.

In this address, which has just been presented to me, complimentary allusion is made to my conduct and demeanour in those trying times. I must disclaim the merit which is so generously attributed to me. I can only say that if the manner in which I performed the difficult and often delicate duties which then devolved on me—if any act or word of mine in those dark days—conducted in the least toward the maintenance of friendly relations between our two nations, I thank God for it. Mr. Chairman, if the views and opinions which, at the early outbreak of that great conflict, I formed and expressed in regard to its character, and especially in regard to its ultimate outcome, should ever see the light, I shall not be ashamed of them. Possibly, if similar views and opinions had been entertained by larger numbers of my fellow-countrymen, I might never have had the honour of taking part in paying over to the United States Government the amount of the Geneva Award. But then the legal profession and the public of both countries would have missed one of the most brilliant and successful of forensic efforts made before a tribunal unsurpassed in dignity, if we consider the parties at issue before it, the magnitude of the interests at stake, and, above and beyond all, the exalted Christian principle established by the treaty of Washington for the pacific settlement of international disputes which formed the constitution of that tribunal.

But, sir, all these things are passed and gone. We now see clearly in the light of history the real end and design of that momentous conflict, which Mr. Bright has well characterized as, in some part, a time of unspeakable grandeur. We see the overruling hand of Providence, extirpating, as by no less costly means and sacrifices could have been extirpated, that monstrous cancer of slavery, which had fastened itself on the vitals of the nation, and which, unless thoroughly eradicated, must have rent it asunder, to the great and lasting detriment of the civilized world. We are now in a restored, reinvigorated, peaceful, and prosperous Union, with freedom throughout its entire territory, blessing and benefits, not alone to this country, but to all the nations of the earth, and especially to my own nation. And when, sir, by order of the honoured President of the United States, the Stars and Stripes,

that flag which, next to the Red Cross of St. George, I honour and reverence above all the banners on earth—when that glorious flag was lowered, and, in its stead, the British ensign was hoisted on every flag-staff and at the mast-head of every ship in the adjacent waters, amid the thunder of artillery—an international courtesy, under the circumstances, more touching, I think, than any recorded in history—then, sir, may we confidently believe that with the dying echoes of that salute there passed away and forever every vestige of unfriendly feeling which had previously been engendered between two great and friendly nations.

And now let me express my obligations to one who has been with me during nearly the whole period that I have filled this Consulate, from whom I have received not only diligent and faithful services, but very valuable assistance; who, having attained the rank of Consul, is now Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at this port—Mr. Pierrepont Edwards. In the gentleman appointed to succeed me you will find one better qualified than I have been to fulfill the functions of this very important post. I had hoped that Mr. Booker would be here to-night, that I might present him to you, but I ask for him a continuance of that kindness and favour which you have ever shown to myself. And now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have little else to say. I have decided to spend the remainder of my days here, where I have so long found a home and so many warm-hearted friends. I shall ever gratefully remember the uniform kindness and courtesy which during my whole residence here I have received from all, high and low, in the community, and specially will I cherish the memory of the cordial greeting which I have received from you here to-night. If I know myself, Mr. Chairman, my aim and efforts in the past, however imperfectly carried out, have been to maintain always a conscience void of offence. In the future I will ask you to think of me only in the words of the old ballad:

“When I am dead and gone,
And the mould upon my breast,
Say not that he did ill or well,
Only—he did his best.”

The banquet itself seems to have been considered an event of great international importance, so marked was the prominence given to it by both the American and the London press. The London *Daily Telegraph*

and *Daily News* each had three-column editorials on the subject, while the American press alluded to it as "an international love-feast." Another New York journal, the *Hour*, in closing a long and complimentary editorial, reviewing the principal events of American historical interest during Sir Edward Archibald's consulship of twenty-six years, had this to say about him:

Fortunately for England and fortunately for the United States Mr. Archibald so administered his great and important office, that, while the honour and rights of his own Government were maintained, the honour and rights of the United States were not infringed upon. His great service we are glad to see has been at last appropriately recognized, first by his sovereign, and secondly by the leading men of New York, who are the leading men of the Republic. New York, in the address of congratulation of her thousand merchants, bankers, lawyers and clergymen, has given him the only patent of nobility she can confer. The event, in every sense, is one of international significance. England honours Mr. Archibald because he had been faithful to her. We honour him because he had been faithful to us. As Mr. Evarts happily said, the two Nations shook hands and pledged their devotion to one another, not across the ocean but over the wine of the Archibald dinner.

The London *Daily News* editorial, February 1st, 1883, commenting on the international significance of the banquet given to Sir Edward M. Archibald, paid the following tribute to his work:

Like Lord Lyons he had to bear the burden and heat of the American Civil War, and to investigate the claims of countless Irishmen who eagerly demanded protection as British subjects, though in peaceful times they are in the habit of repudiating allegiance to Her Majesty with scorn and contumely. For his services during the war Mr. Archibald, as he was then known, was made Companion of the Bath, and never was distinction more worthily conferred, while last year the still higher honour of knighthood of the Order of St. Michael and St. George was deservedly bestowed upon him. During these memorable four years of convulsion Mr. Cridland, who is now Consul at Mobile,

had even more arduous duties to perform as vice-consul at Richmond, in Virginia. From the very outset of the war, the Confederate Government enforced military conscription with iron rigour, and Mr. Cridland, had, indeed, what is called in the Southern States "a hard row to hoe." Reverting, however, to Sir Edward Archibald, we can say with truth that no Englishman of distinction, whether social, political, or commercial, ever had anything to do with the British Consulate at New York without experiencing the utmost attention and courtesy. Thus the office just vacated by him has long been an object of eager aspiration to many in and out of the diplomatic and consular service. New York is now, we believe, the richest post held by any British Consul.

The reference made in Mr. Evart's speech to the "locking up" of Sir Edward in a Safe Deposit by his New York friends, referred to an offer which had been made to the retiring Consul-General of the presidency of a new business enterprise of this nature. At first favourable to the proposal, he afterwards found that under his now much changed financial conditions he could not afford, even with this substantial addition to his income, to remain in New York. He was much exercised over this matter about which he wrote to his son-in-law, Charles Archibald (then of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia):

To Charles Archibald

My dear Charles:

You have good reason to complain of my long delay in replying to your kind and affectionate letter received nearly six weeks ago. But I may say, as some sort of excuse, that I have never passed a more anxious and trying period in my life than since the end of last year—besides being very poorly for some three weeks. I cannot tell you the cause of all this; but, although no longer Consul, it has so fallen out that the engagement which I made to continue a certain portion of my services, have proven onerous beyond anticipation—and, in other respects, I have had troubles and worriments. Thank Heaven, there will be before long, I trust, a cessation of all these and I shall then, perhaps, be enjoying something of that leisure which, with a sad irony, has been the subject of congratulations from my friends on both sides

of the ocean—*per contra*, nothing in the career of a public servant could have been more calculated to gratify and render one happy, than the undeserved honours which have been showered upon me. You will have heard of my nomination as President of a Safe Deposit Co. The mode of it was very complimentary—and I felt that I greatly needed some accession of income to enable me to keep square. But I almost lament now (between ourselves) that I accepted the position. While people think it is a profitable one, I may say to you that, for the first year, the net remuneration will be about \$2,000 only; and, although in subsequent years it should be more, yet how am I justified, at my age, in counting on even one year! But it will enable us to hold on here for another year, although I had given the house up and we were looking for another.

During the last nine months, I have had some heavy losses from *bad investments* and need to nurse what remains of private income. As to returning again to New York, it is impossible now to fix upon any plan.

Dear Edith's letter was a great comfort to me, as it helped to strengthen my trust in Him who knows all our cares and perplexities, and is ever ready to guide and direct us if we will in earnest faith cast our cares upon Him.

Most of the members of that distinguished company of prominent New-Yorkers, both American and British-born, who assembled to do honour to the retiring Consul-General at that brilliant banquet at "Delmonico's," forty years ago, have long since passed away; but their names are still household words and well-known to the New-Yorkers of to-day; and, too, they have, in many cases, left behind them descendants worthy of their character and reputation. It may be that some of these, glancing over this record of an old time banquet, would be interested to find in it their own family name, as represented by the very ancestor to whose talents, probity and industry they are to-day proud to owe much of their own business success and social prestige. It is, therefore, with this thought in mind that an alphabetical list has been prepared of the guests present at what the London papers dignified

by the title of "An International Love-Feast," at which there died away, as between England and America, the last echoes of the discords arising out of the many perplexing incidents connected with the Civil War:

Thomas C. Acton, Dr. C. R. Agnew, John T. Agnew, James W. Alexander, H. M. Alexander, John E. Alexander, Lloyd Aspinwall.

Samuel D. Babcock, Dr. Samuel B. Bangs, Christian Bors, C. C. Baldwin, George R. Burnaby, Edward F. Beddall, Albert Bierstadt, H. R. Bishop, Cornelius N. Bliss, George Bliss, Thomas B. Bowring, James Brand, Harvey M. Braem, James M. Brown, Vernon H. Brown, John R. Brody, Rudolph Burlage, Benjamin F. Butler, Joseph B. Busk.

Thomas B. Coddington, John L. Cadawalader, Allan Campbell, Frederick Cassatt S. B. Chittenden, Joseph H. Choate, John J. Cisco, Charles Coffin, Eugene Cobb, Richard A. Cortis, William Courtney, James Curphy.

John G. Dale, Charles P. Daly, Joseph F. Daly, Noah Davis, William E. Dodge, William E. Dodge, Jr., William Dowd, Joseph W. Drexel, Charles Duggan, Eugene Dutilh, Godfrey Dunscomb.

Franklin Edson, Pierrepont Edwards, David Egleston, John Elderkin, William M. Everts.

H. C. Fahnestock, E. L. Fancher, Cyrus W. Field, Benjamin H. Field, Hamilton Fish Edward T. Flynn, William G. Fogg, Gilbert Fraser, Charles M. Fry.

James H. Goadby, Robert Gordon, Bryce Gray, James J. Goodwin, William H. Guion.

Henry Hague, Oliver Harriman, Henry E. Hawley, John B. Harris, Jr., James Henderson, Henry S. Henry, Edward Hill, Louis von Hoffman, William R. Hoare, Solon Humphreys, R. R. Humphreys, Wilson G. Hunt, Wm. Henry Hurlbert, W. F. J. Hurst.

Adrian Iselin, Richard Irvin, Jr.

D. Willis James, John Jay, Edward S. Jaffray, Morris K. Jesup, John Taylor Johnston George Jones, John D. Jones, Walter D. Jones, Wm. Floyd Jones, Thomas E. Jevons.

John S. Kennedy, Edward King.

George W. Lane, Charles Lanier, J. Leaycraft, A. J. Leith, George de Forest Lord, R. P. Lounsbury, A. A. Low, Edward Lyon.

Thomas Maitland, George C. Magoun, F. F. Marbury, F. F. Marbury, Jr., John El. McAndrew, Duncan A. McTavish, Robert E. Minturn, James Moir, Edward D. Morgan, J. Pierpont Morgan.

Stephen Nash, William S. Nichols, Gordon Norrie, Oliver H. Northcote.

Herman Oelrichs, Rev. Wm. Ormiston, John A. Osborn, Thomas F. O'Reilly, Eugene O'Sullivan, A. E. Outerbridge.

Samuel D. Page, James A. Patterson John A. Parsons, Arthur Peabody, George H. Peabody, James Pearce, Henry E. Pellew, R. D. Perry, Royal Phelps, Archibald G. Pollock, Horace Porter Howard Potter, Percy R. Pyne.

G. B. Raffo, Whitelaw Reid, James M. Requa, George L. Rivers, Wm. H. Robertson, Henry de B. Routh.

Jacob H. Schiff, Elliott F. Sheppard, Jesse Seligman, Samuel Sloan, John Sloan, William Salomon, Ambrose Snow, Charles S. Smith, Henry D. Spaulding, Nicholas S. Stabb, John A. Stewart, Samuel Shethar, Anson Phelps Stokes, J. S. T. Stranahan, William A. Street, William M. Strong, Algernon S. Sullivan.

Henry M. Taber Rev. Dr. Wm. Taylor, Frederic Taylor, John T. Terry, Charles L. Tiffany, James Talcott, Charles Tracy, John B. Trevor, Laurence Turnure.

D. H. de Uriarte, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jenkins Van Schaick, J. D. Vermilye.

Robert Waller, Samuel Wann, Walter Watson, W. Weletsky, Charles Whitehead, Frederick S. Winston, William H. Wickham, William Wood, S. L. Woodford, George Wetherspoon.

The Press was represented by the *Journal of Commerce*, *Herald*, *Sun*, *Times* and *World*.

CHAPTER XVII

PASSING OF A GREAT CANADIAN

SIR EDWARD'S official labours in New York were now at an end. The long years of unremitting toil had told on him and he needed a rest. For his own part he would have preferred remaining in America. He had many interests in New York and was surrounded by a host of friends, among them some of the most brilliant men of the time. But his family felt that, for his health, he needed a complete change, and so it was decided to visit England and sojourn there for a somewhat lengthy period. The house in Thirty-fifth Street was let, furnished, and the family crossed the Atlantic with the intention of remaining in England for a year. If, after the expiration of that period, they found their new surroundings and life agreeable they would in all probability settle down there permanently. Brighton was chosen as their place of residence and a house taken at 11 St. John's Terrace.

For a time Sir Edward enjoyed a complete rest at Brighton. His letters to his friends and dear ones in America show that he had their interests much at heart. The last letter received from him by any member of his family is strongly characteristic of the man. It shows in a marked manner the affection and interest he always felt in everything that made for their happiness. This letter, which is here given in part, was to his youngest daughter, then living in a remote mining village in Cape Breton, N.S.:

*To Mrs. Charles Archibald*11 ST. JOHN'S TERRACE,
BRIGHTON, December 20, 1883.

My dearest Edith:

I am sorry that you have not yet procured a governess. There is just this partial compensation, that the privacy of you and your husband will be undisturbed. I know what this is from long ago experiences. And this leads me to that part of your letter which speaks of your anxiety about the dear children. It is indeed natural that you should feel the responsibility of their training, and that you should dread the contamination which may result from their intercourse with other children. But when you have done all that in your judgment you deem best, under the circumstances and surroundings, and by prayer have commended your dear ones to God's keeping, do not allow yourself to be worried by over anxiety. None are so specially in His care and keeping as these dear little ones, and you must exercise faith in His love and His wisdom. I do indeed pray heartily that you may be assisted and guided in this difficult duty of parents; but, as in every other care and perplexity of life, having conscientiously done what you consider best, have a cheerful confidence in God's fatherly providence.

Yours most affectionately,

E. M. A.

A man of Sir Edward's business capacity and integrity could not, despite his advanced years, be allowed to rust out in the uncongenial atmosphere of a British watering-place. In the early part of the winter of 1883, he received offers from various companies to take a place on their Board of Directors. One of these offers related to the British American Loan & Mortgage Company, of which George B. Shattuck, of New York, was the principal promotor. Idleness was utterly foreign to Sir Edward's nature and so he decided to get into harness once more and take an active part in some of the great business enterprises. This necessitated the removal of the family from Brighton to London.

His decision was reached in winter and despite the

inclement weather he, with his daughter, Elizabeth, set out on a house-hunting expedition. Unfortunately he contracted a severe bronchial cold, which speedily developed into pneumonia. For three weeks he endured acute suffering, putting up a wonderful fight against the fell disease. But his strength at last failed him; he gradually sank, and on February 8th, 1884, passed quietly away.

During his illness a niece, to whom he was deeply attached, was, with her husband, Dr. Duncan MacLarty, a clever London physician, much in attendance at his bedside. Dr. MacLarty thus writes of his patience and fortitude:

From Dr. Duncan MacLarty

204 CAMDEN ROAD, N.W.,

28th February, 1884.

My dear H.,

...Your letter arrived here just two hours after I had returned from your poor Uncle Edward's funeral; it was a sad and trying time for us all, but you have doubtless had all the details already, for Sue has written very fully, I think, both to her father¹ and Edith, as well as to L. I saw more of the dear old gentleman in London than ever before. He stayed several days, or rather nights with us, and so gentle and lovable was he that it was a delight to have him with us. It is no empty meaningless phrase to say, that to know him was to love him, for the more you knew and saw of him the more were you compelled to love and admire him; and that continued even to the very end. I can never forget the sad pleasure it was to me to be so much with him during his last illness, and, as I fondly believe, to be of some little service to him. To me, even yet, it is a subject of gratification to be able to recall much of what happened during those three painful weeks of suffering on his part, borne with truly heroic fortitude and most marked Christian resignation; and of anxious solicitude on ours, of watching day after day and night after night, and of alternate hopes and fears, till at length, tired and exhausted, he passed peacefully into rest, that rest he so longed for, which, though his unspeakable gain, is our great loss. Though not quite unprepared for it, yet I am sure

¹ Mr. Blowers Archibald, Sir Edward's only surviving brother.

when the news reached you all it must have been a great shock and especially to Uncle B., who has my most heartfelt sympathy in this heavy family bereavement. I have not written E., for what can I say that has not already been said to her, and in words more tender than I could use. For her sake as well as for Uncle B's I was glad to have been so much beside her dear father, and I often felt, when sitting beside him and doing for him what I could, with desires and hands as loving as they could have been for my own, that it might be some little comfort or satisfaction to them to know that Susie and myself were truly of the family of bereaved ones. Give them both my warmest love and truest sympathy, and say how much I had learned to love him. With love to Eleanor also and your little ones, Maggie and everybody, believe me always,

Yours affectionately,
D. MACLARTY.

The bond between Sir Edward and his devoted wife had always been peculiarly deep and strong. They had been united for almost fifty years; only a few months more and they would have celebrated their Golden Wedding. Only Lady Archibald, their eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and their invalid grandchild, Katie Uniacke, were with their much loved husband and father when he passed away.

The *Sussex Daily News* of February 16th, 1884, paid the following tribute to Sir Edward:

Yesterday the funeral of Sir Edward Archibald, K.C.M.G., C.B., took place at the Extra-Mural Cemetery. The deceased, who died at his residence No. 11, St. John's Terrace, Hove, on Friday, from pneumonia, was born 1810. In 1832 he entered the public service as Chief Clerk and Registrar of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland. He was afterwards appointed British Consul-General at New York, which post he held for a quarter of a century, his services during the Civil War, for which he received the Companionship of the Bath, in March, 1865, being such as to win the goodwill of the American people without sacrificing any of the rights of his countrymen. The funeral cortege which consisted of an open funeral car and four carriages, left 11, St. John's Terrace about half-past one, and proceeded to the Hove Parish Church

of St. Andrew's, where the first service took place, after which the cortege proceeded to the Extra-Mural Cemetery for the interment, arriving there about a quarter to three. The officiating clergyman was the Rev. Thomas Peacey, Vicar of Hove. The coffin was of polished oak with massive brass fittings, and bore the following inscription:—"Sir E. M. Archibald, K.C.M.G., C.B., Died 8th February, 1884, Aged 74 years."

The news of Sir Edward's death was flashed across the wires to New York, and was deeply deplored in that city. Letters and telegrams of sympathy poured in in such numbers as to almost overwhelm the family. References were made to Sir Edward's long life of service and to his good qualities not alone in the Press but by many public men and by the clergy. Perhaps one of the most beautiful of these tributes to his memory was that spoken by the Rev. B. F. de Costa, Rector of St. John's Church, New York, who, as Chaplain of Saint George's Society, had been brought very closely into touch with Sir Edward. A contemporary report speaks of this tribute as follows:

At the close of the communion service during morning prayer yesterday at the church of St. John the Evangelist, the rector, the Rev. B. D. de Costa, delivered a warm and eloquent eulogy of the late Sir Edward Mortimer Archibald, whose connection with St. John's through the old church of St. George the Martyr he explained. He said that Sir Edward had been the representative of England in this city for more than a quarter of a century, and in all his duties had maintained a reputation so spotless that not a breath had ever tarnished it, though in his position he was exposed to the malice of many jarring factions. His singular devotion to duty, his constant aim to strengthen the fraternal bonds between the two great countries, his comprehension of the brotherhood of man, made him a conspicuously fit object for eulogy. That faith that God had made of one blood all the people of the earth no one defended and illustrated more strenuously than he. His memory will not be forgotten, nor his beneficent and salutary influence upon English and American affairs. As he was a true patriot and a genuine

philanthropist, so was he a sincere and humble Christian and an earnest believer in the truth of Christianity.

Writing many years afterwards to Rev. Dr. de Costa in reference to this newspaper report of his tribute to my father, I received from him a very beautiful letter in which he expressed himself as follows:

From the Rev. B. F. de Costa

NEW YORK, June 23rd, 1892.

Dear Madam:

Your letter of May 3rd. came duly to hand. I improve the first opportunity for my reply.

The newspaper report was based upon an address, *unwritten*, but delivered in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, on the morning of Queen's Sunday, the third in the month, when the prayers are said for the Queen. I remember the occasion well, and the substance of what I said, though I think the newspaper clippings were sent to Lady Archibald, who acknowledged their receipt from London.

I remember the appearance of Sir Edward the last time he was in church with Lady Archibald and I alluded in my address to the seat he occupied on that occasion. The last time I met him socially was at the residence of the late Mr. Edward Hill, then just elected President of St. George's Society, and entertaining the members. Sir Edward was called upon for some remarks and made a clever and witty address, suited to the occasion, like all his addresses, in which he observed that the Society had "reached the Hilltop of its prosperity," a sally and deserved recognition that was much enjoyed.

Though I have no copy of the address in question, I can send you a copy of a sermon which he heard and greatly enjoyed, speaking of it afterwards in high terms, at the annual dinner of St. George's Society.

Sir Edward was a man of rare and versatile gifts, and when he departed from New York he left a place vacant in English society that has never been filled. His long residence, honourable service, and general bearing towards the American people endeared him to all; and I am glad to know that you are trying to put the memorials of his life in some suitable form. His life and career would justify a volume.

Respectfully,

B. F. DE COSTA.

A beautiful brass memorial tablet has been placed by his wife and daughters to his memory in the vestry of Trinity Church, New York. It also bears the name of his only son, Edward Brenton. The late Dr. Morgan Dix, then Rector, expressed to Lady Archibald the gratification of the vestry-men of Trinity Church and concluded his letter by saying: "I am sure no place could be better suited for such a memorial, and that it could have no more reverent custodians than ourselves and those who are to succeed us."

Thus ended the long and eventful career of one whose single aim throughout the whole of his fifty-one years of public service was that of fidelity to the high trusts reposed in him. Not that he was alone or exceptional in this lofty conception of duty. Britain has to-day, as she had then, many such faithful servants, who—each in his own place and sphere, often remote from the possibility of the plaudits and acclaim which were accorded to Edward Mortimer Archibald—are quietly contributing their own personal share towards building up those lofty ideals which give worth and add lustre to the prestige of the great British Empire.

At the time when he entered upon his life-work, Canada only existed as a collection of provinces, each occupied with its own problems and the development of its own special interests. The very name Canada suggested to the average mind—Upper and Lower Canada—merely the two outstanding Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. When Sir Edward's career closed, the history of the great Dominion of Canada was yet in its initial chapter. The development of the Great West, made possible by the opening up of that wonderful country by the Canadian Pacific Railway, had but just begun, but the national

spirit was aroused, and to the building up of the Canada of to-day each and every province contributed of its best, in men and material, brains and brawn. And towards all these vital, uplifting forces, none more than the Province of Nova Scotia, from whence have come and are still coming so many of the thinkers and workers, the statesmen and intellectual men who have guarded the interests and helped to make the laws of our beloved Dominion. These are the descendants and successors of those early pioneer statesmen and law-makers whose life-stories should be household words in every Canadian home, and familiar to every child in the schools of Canada. Their experiences and their achievements ought to be prized among the proudest possessions of our great and growing Nation. It is as foolish as it is wrong to allow so valuable an asset to rust in oblivion, and the memory of lives nobly lived for the public weal to perish.

It is, therefore, in the earnest hope that this account of the life of a typical Canadian of the last century may prove an incentive to help and encourage the youth of Canada of to-day, that we close this imperfect story of the man who "did his best."

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